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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA; INTERNAL SECURITY -C

17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

REPORT OF SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

DATED 1/8/60 AT NEW YORK

VOLUME II  
(of 3 Volumes)

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VIII. RECORD OF SESSIONS OF  
17th NATIONAL CONVENTION

MORNING SESSION  
December 10, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at 11:41 a.m.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: Order - Communist Party of the United States, welcome. In the name of the National Committee I now declare this convention officially open. The first of the orders of the day will be the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by Comrade BROWN (phonetic).

UNKNOWN MALE: Will everybody please rise? (audience sings Star Spangled Banner.)

FLYNN: This is a very great honor and privilege to be able to make the first brief opening remark at this convention. It is a matter of regret to us that some of our best beloved comrades are not able to be with us. That of course includes Comrades (GIL) GREEN, (HENRY) WINSTON and (ROBERT) THOMPSON, who are unjustly imprisoned under the infamous Smith Act. It also includes our Chairman Emeritus, Comrade WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, whose greetings to you we read.

It is a matter of deep regret to our National Committee and I am sure you will share our concern that Comrade EUGENE DENNIS is ill with a severe heart attack, and was not able to be with us yesterday at the National Committee meeting. We send him a mammoth greeting of solidarity and warm sympathy and our hope that he will be able to attend a session of the convention before the convention adjourns.

Now at this point it is my very great privilege to introduce our host, the Chairman of the New York State Communist Party who will bring us his greetings, our dear Comrade BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

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DAVIS: Comrades, we had the jump on you. We had many things to do before the convention started. I just want to re-emphasize how necessary it is for us in this position to come out with a new pledge, a new courage, and a new determination to fight for the right of BILL FOSTER to go to the Soviet Union and anywhere else he needs to go or wants to go and for BILL, and for GIL, and for BOB, and WINNIE to be with us. We got to have that as a real determination and a real fighting spirit that will emerge from our convention.

The New York State Communist Party which is a part, a part of and a substantial part of the Communist Party of the United States is your host. Our leaders and members are your hosts and hostesses. In their behalf and in the name of the State Committee of our Party, I welcome the Seventeenth National Convention to our city. We want the deliberations of the 17th Convention to be fruitful, harmonious, unified and above all successful in moving our Party a great big step forward in becoming a big powerful factor in our country. We will do everything in our delegation and in our Party in New York to make these things come through. We also want you to be comfortable, and as comfortable as we are anyway. We generously share with you the cattle car subways; the mice and rodents, we have got them both. If you have been assigned to a house where you do not like the brand of pests that keep you company perhaps we can assign you to another house where you'll get a quite different brand. In earlier days when we had representatives on the city council we could have given you the keys to the city. Unfortunately, we cannot extend that chivalric act of hospitality at this time. But New York, in order to take the keys out of the hands of the Communist councils they have to take the keys out of the hands of the people of New York. Because we have a city council now with 25 members; 24 Democrats and one poor lone Republican.

This convention, however, with all the workers and the people win those keys back and perhaps that day is closer than we think. If ARCHER BROWN keeps going like he did in the last election in November it looks like California will have keys again before New York.

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DAVIS (cont'd):

Our sessions are taking place in the heart of Harlem, the political center of the fighting Negro people of our country. We are not the Democratic Party so we could not meet in the Hotel Pierre. We are not the Republican Party so the doors of the Waldorf Astoria were not open to us, even if we had that kind of money. Perhaps the big realty interests that conspired to bar our convention from other parts of the city considered somehow that they were downgrading us by shunting us to Harlem, since they think that way. Actually, they were completely upgrading us.

What an honor to be physically among a people of such dignity, courage, and genius as the Negro people of our country. We hope that our deliberation will be inspired and enriched by having their fighting spirit rub off on us and added to our own. We consider it a privilege to meet in Harlem, the main community of the Negro and Puerto Rican people, and among our many neighbors in Harlem; among the Jewish, Italian, Cuban and Irish, and many other nationalities. As we move about the community, and restaurants, and shops, and homes, we hope the Negro people will conclude that the privilege is mutual. That we have much in common despite any of our ideological differences; that we have the same reactionary, Jim-Crow, cold war enemies. We hope especially that they will see the work of our Party after the convention, a revitalization of our determination to march beside them in smashing now the Jim-Crow system of the United States.

"Black and White, United in Fight" was the slogan of struggle 20 years ago. Today "Black and White, United in Fight" is the slogan of victims. The fighting era in which we live is characterized by the growing superiority of socialism over capitalism; by the building of Communism as the world's first socialist state; by the liberation of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; by stoppage and (luntz)(phonetic). It's the achievement of mankind's noblest dreams on the part of every town and

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DAVIS (cont'd)

hamlet, New York included. They're having a profound effect upon every aspect of human endeavor. The powerful monopolists of our country are trying to devise a method to convert these achievements to their own continued rule, profit and glory. The masses of this earth are wondering how these miracles can be converted to their use for a peaceful, happy and full life; how they can end war; unemployment; racism; exploitation; once and for all.

The international inter-lock of socialist achievements are helping working people in the capitalist as well as the socialist countries. But that help must be added to by developing in our own country a big, powerful, strong Communist Party. Our country needs such a Party. In Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Birmingham, Memphis, New Orleans. We must have a Party that can help realize the dreams of the American boy as the Russian and Chinese Parties realize the dreams of the Russian and Chinese kids. The universal science of Marxism-Leninism applied in our country is to realize in life the national aspirations of our people upon which our country was founded. Only socialism can do that. And a working class and a people who have gunned the fabulous industrial machine of our land, will also, thanks to socialism.

The importance of our Party cannot be over-estimated. Small as it is temporarily, it carries the banner of the future. We don't need to worry about our position being historic. The crude and transparent hints of the capitalistic press to intervene and divert our ranks, to set one personality against another, all backhanded testimony to the importance of our convention and of the American Communist Party. Comrades, we pledge here in New York to do everything possible to make this a great convention. A convention with confidence in the people of America, confidence in the socialist achievements of the whole world, and confidence in our own working class, in the unity of Negro and white to march forward to new heights of achievement.

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FLYNN: Because we are a little late in getting started, but the reason for that is rather an interesting one which I am sure you will appreciate. As Comrade DAVIS just said this is an important convention not only to us but in general to the public and to those who are anxious to cause disrupt etcetra and failed. However, this morning Comrade GUS HALL and other comrades were kept busy for two hours in interviews with the National Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting System, television, in a telecast of news reels and in interviews for three radio stations. Well that's pretty good for a party that may not be numerically strong, but is politically important.

I have as I said, greetings to you from Comrade WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, and I will now read them.

"To the 17th National Convention, Communist Party, USA. Dear Comrades, Greetings to the Convention and best wishes. I regret that I cannot be with you on account of my illness. The convention is meeting at a time when world socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, and reinforced by People's China, and the other socialist countries, is making the greatest drive in its history, and is fast achieving ascendancy in the world. This is manifesting itself by a vast drive of the world peace forces against imperialist war, and against the (burning Arnam) as emphasized in the activities of Premier KHRUSHCHEV. Socialism has already clearly demonstrated its superiority in the conquest of space, scientific advance, education and the development of industry. All of this comprises one of the most tremendous forward steps ever taken by humanity.

The American people want peace, and end of the cold war, as do the people of the rest of the world. They perceive the folly of war. We must do all in our power to help to bring the victory of the policy of peaceful co-existence, and total disarmament in the government, the trade unions and all other organizations.

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FLYNN (cont'd)

In the United States, the workers are pressing their demands on many fronts. The steel strike, which is one of the greatest strikes in American history, is the first of this growing class militancy. There are also strikes in the marine and longshore industries, and many more (strikes). There is the fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, the Landrum-Griffin Bill, the right to work clause, the developing fight against automation and unemployment, the coming 1960 election struggle, the fight for a strong youth movement, the fight for the release of our political prisoners, BOB THOMPSON, HENRY WINSTON and GIL GREEN, the fight for the full support of the Cuban revolution. The Negro people, as usual, are leading the masses in militancy. The lynching of MACK CHARLES PARKER shows that the racists are far from defeated. We must intensify our struggle for the full equality of the Negro people in all avenues of life. Our Party in all those situations, can and must do its duty in the front line of these struggles. Our Party is fast recovering from the severe revisionist fight through which it has recently passed. Many great Communist Parties in the world have suffered more severe losses than ours, but have, nevertheless, pushed forward to final victory. We must realize that in order to do our full part in all phases of the progress of socialism here and abroad, we need to have a powerful Communist Party in the United States. This convention should give a strong impetus to this work. We must build our Party as never before, reconstruct and reinvigorate our united front first. Strengthen our national and district leadership, and generally improve the function of the Party in every way on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We must attempt to win back the sound ex-Party element through vigorous membership drive. It is also vitally necessary that we begin the primary work to restore our "Daily Worker". This must be a convention of unity and the elimination of factionalism (tried) in the record and life of our Party, and a full confidence in the future victory of socialism in our country and the world. Comradely yours, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER."

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FLYNN (cont'd)

The next point on the pre-agenda agenda, will be the reading of some messages by Comrade JAMES JACKSON, but before I introduce him I consider it a special privilege to read between Comrade FOSTER's greeting and Comrade JACKSON's greeting a greeting, appropriately, from the Communist Party of Ireland.

From the Irish Communist Party forward fraternal greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States. It is a pleasure to send this greeting on the 40th Anniversary of your Party's foundation. Lovers of liberty and progress in Ireland have followed with admiration the great fight of the United States Communists against the persecution of the MC CARTHY period, and the struggle which you have waged and are still waging for democratic and civil liberties. Yours is a struggle which is an inspiration to the working class movement in all countries. American democracy is now in the forefront of the capitalist world in the great struggle for world peace, the cessation and outlawry of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons of war, and for the opening of the way to a start to disarmament. The American peoples reception to Premier KHRUSHCHEV is a milestone on the way to the victory of the forces of peace over the stirrings of sections of reactionary imperialism to keep in being the cold war. We share your confidence that your 17th Convention will register a big step forward for the United States Communist Party in welding the Party solidly around the principles of Marxism-Leninism and triumphing over all varieties of revisionism. In the spirit of the best traditions of the Irish working class CONNELLY (phonetic) and LARKIN (phonetic), we salute the 17th Convention of the Communist Party of the USA, and pledge you our fraternal solidarity in the struggles which lie ahead for the victory of peace and socialism. Long live the unity of the American and Irish peoples! Long live peace and Socialism! Long live the Communist Party of the USA. Fraternally yours, ANDREW BARR (phonetic), Chairman, SEAN MURRAY (phonetic), Secretary.

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JAMES JACKSON: Comrades, our Party, and our 17th Convention is literally showered with lovely words and heart-warming bouquets of beautiful words, and soul stirring messages of militant solidarity and fraternity in the fight for peace, progress and Socialism from the Communists and Worker's Parties of the world over, representative of the well wishers of some thirty-four million Communists, of eighty-four countries of North and South America, Europe, Africa, Asia, from the lands of socialism and the fighting working classes of the remaining capitalist countries.

I shall read only a few of these greetings at the present time and interspersed during the whole proceedings of our Convention we will have occasion to at least report these greetings from the various countries, and now and again read one or another of them.

JACKSON now reads greetings from the Communist Party of India.

"Convey our warmest greetings for the 17th National Convention of your Party. We appreciate the extremely difficult conditions in which your Party is working. Our Central Committee and Secretariat is one with you in determination to unite your Party basic tested principles of Marxism-Leninism, to better serve the cause of the working people of America. We wish your convention full success. Signed BASOV LIVIA (phonetic) for the Secretariat of the National Communist Party of India."

JACKSON now reads greetings from the Communist Party of Great Britain.

"Dear Comrades. We extend our warmest fraternal greetings to your 17th National Convention and our best wishes for the success of your deliberations and the future of our brother party. Your convention takes place soon after the 40th Anniversary of the Party's foundation in September, 1919. This whole outlook of forty years is one in which our brother party has a proud record.

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JACKSON (Cont'd)

We feel confident that your 17th Convention will decide on firm issues to resist the new anti-labor and anti-Communist attacks and for the release of the remaining Communists still in prison.

We are deeply conscious of the magnificent struggle which you have waged in the past three years against revisionist trends while also being on guard against left sectarianists. You have upheld the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and stood firm alongside all the Communist and Worker's Parties throughout the world, which today are more firmly united than ever.

In Britain as in other countries we're constantly engaged in resisting United States imperialist interference in our economic, political and cultural affairs and appreciate your great efforts to translate the militant spirit of the American workers into a class conscious fight against monopoly as an essential step towards the conception of a Socialist United States.

It is certain that the recent visit of Premier KHRUSHCHEV to your country has made a profound impact on the American people and, as it did in America, as it did on the people of the whole world. and it has encouraged a growing trend in America for the peaceful coexistence of differences. The rapid economic and social advances in the Soviet Union and the new China is bound to strengthen these progressive trends. From the experiences of the past three years we will, confident in our brother party, further strengthen its ranks on the basis of adherence to Marxism and Leninism. In its struggle for the unity of all democratic forces, equal rights for the Negro people, for ending the cold war, and insuring peaceful coexistence, it is waging a struggle in the interests of the American people, and indeed the whole world. We extend our greetings and heartfelt wishes for the success of your convention. Signed, JOHN GOLLAN, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Great Britain."



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JACKSON (cont'd)

JACKSON next reads greetings from Norway.

"Dear Comrade. The Communist Party of Norway sends its warmest greetings to your 17th National Convention. We wish you new and great efforts in your work for strengthening of the Communist Party and for mobilizing of the broadest masses for peace, disarmament, and democratic rights. From the Secretariat and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway."

JACKSON next read greetings from Japan.

"On behalf of the entire membership of our Party and the progressive working of Japan, the Cultural Committee of the Communist Party of Japan sends warm brotherly greetings for the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party. We pay high respect to your Party that is fighting courageously and persistently as the vanguard of the working class and laboring masses of the country that has been controlled by the strongest imperialists at present. Headed by the Socialist camp of progressive mankind is making a true effort, making advance for the elimination of cold war and peaceful coexistence of different systems. Opened at this moment the National Convention of your Party is of vital importance not only to the United States working class and laboring people but also for world peace and human progress. We are convinced firmly that your Party which has achieved big success in the recent struggle against revisionism and in the defense of the unity of your Party, in the purity of Marxism-Leninism will achieve greater success in the forthcoming National Convention."

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JACKSON (Cont'd)

The United States of America and Japan are separated from each other by the vast Pacific Ocean, however, the Communist Party of the working peoples of the two countries have a close relationship. At the earliest period the Communist Parties of the laboring movements of the two countries have been connected closely with each other through the work of the labor of (possibly a Japanese term) distinguished leader of the international Communist movement and one of the pioneer, personalities of the American Communist Party. At present we are connected with each other more directly against the common enemy, United States imperialism. Long live the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States! Long live victory of Marxism-Leninism! Long live firm solidarity between the Communist Party and the working peoples of these United States of America and Japan. Signed, SENATOLA SAKA (phonetic) for the Cultural Committee of the Communist Party of Japan."

JACKSON next read greetings from the Communist Party of Uruguay.

"The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, on the occasion of the celebration of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, the Communist Party of Uruguay is sending the warmest fraternal greetings. We wish you the best success in the struggle for the interests of the working class and the North American people in the defense of the Marxist-Leninist principles against revisionism and for world peace. We express our most fervent desire of maintaining the closest ties with the Communist Party of the United States as well as the other brother parties that form the essential Communist workers movement. It is in this sense that we also like to inform you of our interest in knowing the resolutions that will be approved in your 17th National

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Convention. Long live the Party of the United States! Long live proletariat internationalism. (Spanish translation: The Cultural Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay)."

JACKSON next read greetings from the Bulgarian Communist Party.

"From the world of victorious Communist Parties, 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the United States. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on its own behalf, and on behalf of all Bulgarian Communists, extends warm personal greetings and wishes for successful work of the delegates to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Communists and all working people in our country are following with great interest the hard struggle which your party is launching in organizing the working class in defense of economic and political rights. Founded forty years ago, your party has with great difficulties organized an ideological build up in the struggle against various revisionists, opportunists, deriationists and influences of reaction among working classes in the revolutionary labor movement. We are confident that your Congress will be still another manifestation of faithfulness toward the great principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Bulgarian Communists, as well as the Bulgarian people, together with all the peace loving peoples, together with the working class of the progressive democratic forces in the United States of America, hail with enthusiasm the bold actions of the Soviet government for preserving the cause of peace. The great manifestation of which was the visit of Comrade NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the USA, and his talks with President EISENHOWER. We are deeply confident that the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the USA, will become the mouth-piece of the genuine

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JACKSON (Cont'd)

wish of millions of Americans.....we are sure that the Congress will contribute to the strengthening of the struggle for liquidation of the cold war, for establishing new international relations of mutual confidence, peaceful competition and for existence.

Long live the Communist Party of the United States of America! Let the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist and workers parties throughout the world, headed by the great party of Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union be strengthened. From the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party."

JACKSON next read greetings from the Communist Party of Israel.

"Please accept our most fraternal and ardent greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA. No more than two months ago, on the important occasion of your Party's celebrating its 40th Anniversary, we had the opportunity to address your brave party. But how the situation since then has changed, and is continuing to change. The fronts of the cold war have started to crumble under the heavy pressure of all the vast majority of mankind longing for peace and a happy life for all. The visit to your country of Comrade NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, Premier of the Soviet Union whose consistent peace policy attains success after success, has had a profound effect and furthered greatly the noble cause of peaceful co-existence and elimination of the danger of war.

The atmosphere of Mc Carthyism of spy hunt hysteria, of red baiting begins to wane. And although strong opposition to this positive development is exercised by the most reactionary circles in your country, in Western Germany, in France and elsewhere, there is no doubt that the ice of the cold war is beginning to melt and the mist to disperse and that good prospects for the easing of tension, and for peaceful international cooperation can be observed already rising over the horizon.

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JACKSON (Cont'd)

Your party which in the past two years has succeeded to eliminate in large measures the destructive influences of revisionism, and to overcome sectarianism, and which is now united around the glorious and lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism, and proletariat internationalism has therefore every reason to look confidently into the future, and to advance boldly upon the road of struggle for the interests of the American working people. In this your important and difficult struggle, we wish you all the success, as we wish this your convention in elaborating the concrete ways and means of that struggle. Every step forward made by your party, every success scored by it in the struggle against American imperialism are also successes for our party struggle, and for all the people of Israel.

American imperialism is not less our enemy, and the enemy of all freedom and peace loving peoples, than it is yours. American imperialism is acting in our country, as it is still in different parts of the world. It sometimes acts through its West German and French accomplices rivals, and all its efforts are centered around the aim to prevent the peoples of the Middle East to make their region, once and for all a region of peace, independence, prosperity and neutrality.

In our struggle against Israeli ruling BEN GURION circles, who are serving American imperialism, in our struggle for a basic change of Israeli policy of independence, neutrality and social progress, for a just and peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict by mutual recognition of the just national rights of both our countries, ..... the Jewish people and the Palestinian Arab people, ..... we are fighting on the same battlefield as you do, and against the same enemy. So in greeting you today, we are cheering our comrades-in-arms in the just struggle

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JACKSON (Cont'd)

for peace socialism and a happy future for our peoples. Long live the 17th Convention of the Communist Party, USA! Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live peace! Long live Communism!"

FLYNN: Now the comments of Comrade PHIL BART who will take up the organization of the Convention.

BART: The organization of the Convention and a presentation of an agenda of the program in line with the resolutions which were presented by the pre-convention discussion and for action by this Convention. Taking that into consideration it proposes that the Convention shall be held in nine sessions, which this of course is first. It will conclude Sunday Afternoon. Six of the sessions that I will give you the details of in a moment will be devoted to the main resolution embodying various particular resolutions as well as sections including in the main resolution on particular questions. The other sessions will be devoted to the Constitution, various other matters to come before the convention other resolutions of all kinds, election of the National Committee and conclusion of the Convention. It proposes that the first six sessions devoted to main resolutions shall be conducted in the following manner. The first session which is now going on includes the organization discussion and the keynote speech by Comrade HALL which will deal with a number of questions in the resolution and will be discussed following the report in the course of today, second session.

We propose that this evening all committees elected by this convention shall meet. In presenting their program of the agenda we have been guided by the fact that a short convention of four days with a lot

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BART (Cont'd)

of business to be conducted, of trying to extend possible, of reporting to the committee meetings that will be trying ..... of the delegates throughout the convention. That does not mean that the committees will be limited. It means that they should try to organize their work in such a way that the convention can be in session with their full delegations, most if not all of the time. Tomorrow morning, we propose that we have a discussion on the Trade Union Resolution and that section of the resolution in abeyance..... Followed by discussion; the afternoon session to the resolution on Negro work, followed by discussion; that evening, that is tomorrow evening, there'll be a night session, which will take up the 1960 elections. The following morning, Saturday, a report on party organization followed by discussion. Now while all these forums are given separately the objective of the committee is not to confine each session to that particular point. If they want to discuss trade with Russia under trade organization, or discuss youth under party or other points in the main resolution, certainly that should show ..... But during the course of discussion while singling out various questions may make it possible to arouse the discussion on the whole main resolution with emphasis on the major questions indicating .....

We believe that the course of these sessions will be devoting part of our time to other resolutions as the opportunity is created, because making resolutions associated with various particular pieces of work presented at this convention and will be drawn up for action.

After the seventh session, Saturday, we propose that district delegations meet to discuss nominations to the national committee. The report on that will be presented in

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advance indicating recommendations to be acted upon at this convention on this question. We detect that by that time on Saturday that everybody will be not ready to quit- but after three days of convention-the rest of the evening will be devoted to social features of this convention. Time will determine when the delegates are ready to get (drunk).

Sunday morning we will pose the election of a national committee. That is the elections take place and action on a number of other questions among them youth, defense, various resolutions, financial reports, and a statement of Party (benefits). There may be some comrades who don't believe all these questions can or should be acted upon in one single session. They believe the question is more important to have an hour or hour and a half of this convention, and instead of trying to deal with that question here, and it was the opinion of the committee presenting the recommendations, which were discussed and approved by the national committee, that a number of these questions while presented in separate resolutions shall be a part of the other questions before a body of this convention. Should youth be discussed under trade union, Negro rights, defense, farm, and so on, so that these questions which are taken up as specific resolutions at a later time- shall be given adequate attention in a full discussion on all the major questions that arise before this convention. Final session, we are going to closing address of this convention as well as any other matters that need to be tackled. I hope you fellows share in the program of the agenda for this convention..

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Could we possibly get timing on those sessions. I mean from when to when- different periods.

BART: We'll leave that to the Rules Committee regarding time. But I can indicate it to you briefly. We propose that all sessions will run approximately from 10 to 1:30, with an hour for lunch, from 2:30 to 6:30-7:30, any evening sessions that are held from 7:30 to 10:30. But the committee meetings can be longer if they so desire.



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UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade Chairman. I arise now at this point not to suggest that right here we change that agenda but I would like to suggest that the presiding committee when it meets give top consideration to the possibility of placing the youth question a little bit earlier on the agenda and the particular problem is, that many of the youth delegates have to leave early to be back to school Monday morning and that late consideration will be a problem, that the possibility of putting the thing sometime Saturday should not be impossible but in view of the general importance of the youth question and the whole discussion of it and our emphasis on it generally, it would deem that we should give consideration to it. I know that the points that Comrade BART raises are correct. I know that youth can be discussed under all of these other questions. But the particular resolution of our action of it if it could come a little earlier and again I say I'm not here at this point to suggest that the convention act at this moment. I'm just raising this Comrade Chairman to ask the Presiding Committee look at it and see if some consideration could be given to advance it to Saturday instead of Sunday.

ARCHIE BROWN: Is my understanding correct that once the agenda is accepted there will be room for changes if need be.

FLYNN: That is the understanding.

PHIL BART then suggested that thirteen people act as the Presiding Committee, consisting of:

EUGENE DENNIS  
GUS HALL  
HY LUMER  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
BEN DAVIS, JR.  
JAMES JACKSON  
JIM WEST  
ED CHAKA from Ohio  
TOM DENNIS  
ARCHIE BROWN  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
SAM DAVIS from Minnesota  
BURT NELSON

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A discussion then took place concerning the size and duties of this Committee. Several motions were made to increase the size and to define its authority. It was then voted that the questions of the size and the function of this Presiding Committee be separated. An unknown male suggested that the committee formed to propose the new officers should not include a preponderance of those who are already officers. He thought it would be better if the working type comrade had a greater representation of this committee.

CARL WINTER said that the proposals of the present NEC regarding the leadership were not calculated to control the election of the National Committee, but that they wanted a committee for the election of the National leadership that could take into account opinions and experiences. He pointed out that the committee of thirteen was not a nominating committee, but was only to coordinate the proposals of each and every state delegation. Therefore, it was the most democratic procedure they had ever had.

JACK STACHEL made a motion that the Presiding Committee, consisting of the above thirteen people, at the time when this committee takes up the question of nominations for leadership and division of work, that each delegation present at the Convention and not represented on this committee, should elect a representative to this committee. This motion was passed. PHIL BART then proposed that three Convention secretaries should be elected, but he made no recommendations. It was voted that the Presiding Committee would make recommendations for the future approval of the Convention. BART also proposed that this Presiding Committee should bring any recommendations for all standing committees of this Convention. Motion passed. Morning session adjourned for luncheon at 1:15 p.m.

JAC:rmv

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Afternoon Session, First Day  
December 10, 1959

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: I propose that Comrade EARL DURHAM of the Chicago Delegation should act as chairman of the afternoon session. Applause. I take it by the applause that there has been unanimous consent. Right? EARL please come and take the hammer away from Comrade BURT.

EARL DURHAM: The first report for the afternoon session comrades, is a report from the presiding committee by Comrade BURT NELSON, from Washington.

BURT NELSON: The first item that we propose in the report of the presiding committee is the election of the convention secretary. We place in nomination the names of comrades KETTY from North California, comrade FLO (HALL) from Illinois, and comrade JIM D. or G. from New York. After debate, I move its adoption.

DURHAM: Comrades, do you understand the proposal? It has been formally moved and seconded for the election of these three comrades for secretary. Are there further nominations from the floor? It is formally moved and seconded for the adoption of these three comrades for secretary of the national convention. Is there any discussion of the motion?

UNKNOWN MALE: Question.

DURHAM: There is a question from the floor. All those comrades in favor signify by raising your cards. All those opposed. So ordered. Will the comrades who have been elected secretaries please begin their work immediately by taking down all motions.

JAC:rmv

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DURHAM: and they should sit on either side of the hall to make sure that they hear everything.

BURT NELSON: The second proposal is the designation of committees. First we propose a committee of three to visit Comrade FOSTER and take him the spirit of this convention and to generally inform him of what we are doing here. The proposed nominees are (GEORGE) MEYERS from Maryland, ED (CHAKA) from Cleveland and [redacted] from California. After debate, I move its adoption.

b6  
b7c

UNKNOWN MALE: Seconded.

DURHAM: Did you hear the proposal comrades? It has been moved and seconded that these three comrades convey to Comrade FOSTER the proceedings of this convention. Are there any more nominations from the floor? The question has been called. Any discussion of the motion? All those comrades in favor signify by raising your cards. All those opposed. So ordered.

BURT NELSON: It was the avowed intent of the presiding committee that this committee of three would keep in touch with Comrade FOSTER throughout the convention. The second proposal is that of a general resolutions committee, which would consist of the chairman and secretaries of those committees handling the main parts of the draft resolution, that is, peace, Negro, trade union, Party organization, plus a chairman and a secretary and I will propose their names. The committee on Peace and Disarmament... the proposed overall chairman of this committee is comrade JIM JACKSON, the secretary CARL WINTER. The chairman of the respective committees, temporary chairman to be elected by the full committee, is comrade LUMER for peace and disarmament. Comrade BEN DAVIS for the 1960 elections. Comrade IRVING POTASH on the trade union question. Comrade CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the Negro Question.

Question from the floor as to the first two names for the overall committee.

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NELSON: The first two names were JACKSON as the chairman and CARL WINTER, the secretary. Then on the committee on peace and disarmament, LUMER. On the 1960 elections BEN DAVIS. On trade unions, IRVING POTASH. The Negro Question, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. I want to consult here for just a moment. The point I was consulting on with the chairman of the presiding committee was that I've got in the notes that the chairman of the subcommittee on the New York Party organization was Comrade BART, so there was a doubt in my mind. If I'm wrong will the members of the presiding committee correct me? The idea of this committee is that because the component parts of the draft are being handled by separate committee and there is a need for a co-ordination of this to put it together in its final form. And so it would work in this manner. Each of these respective committees would report here. Their reports will be discussed and acted upon. Then those sections of the report will be referred to the overall resolutions committee for their putting together in a final document. On behalf of the committee, I move for the adoption of the proposal.

DURHAM: Comrades you have the proposal. Is there a second to the proposal?

UNKNOWN MALE: Seconded.

DURHAM: Is there a discussion of the proposal?

UNKNOWN MALE: Indistinct. Point of information. The chair objects.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Comrade BART said the committee would consist of the chairman and the secretary of the subcommittees but he only listed the chairman - would you kindly list the secretaries also?

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NELSON: If you will allow me to finish my report, we will come to the secretaries and how they get to be secretaries.

DURHAM: Does that clear up your point comrade JOHN?

UNKNOWN FEMALE: RUTH from New York State:  
I understood that a committee on Jewish work would also be appointed. Is that an oversight? Or will it be done later?

NELSON: This was not in the roster of proposed committees and the presiding committee at this moment did not discuss it. If it is agreeable with you we will take it under discussion and report back to you.

DURHAM: Any discussion of the proposals? Comrade JACK.

COMRADE JACK: I would suggest that if you read off the list of all the subcommittees that the comrades will be more amenable with respect to the overall committees. They want to know how the other parts will be dealt with.

NELSON: We propose the following procedure on the question of the rest of the committees. Now the main body of the committees have been named by the delegations. You all were asked to name your people and so each delegation knows already who their committee people are. We did not make an effort to bring a full roster of these committees to you. We propose temporary chairmen of these committees to call them to order to give them what necessary information required so that they may be able to get to work. They will then elect a chairman and a secretary. These finally elected chairmen and secretaries may then take their respective positions. Now this on the overall resolutions committee, this only applies to those committees dealing with the key parts of the draft resolution, and I will read the longer committees and the proposed temporary chairman.

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On the general resolution, Comrade JACK (JAMES JACKSON); on peace and disarmament, Comrade (HY) LUMER; on the Trade Union Resolution, it was (IRVING) POTASH; on Negro Question, (CLAUDE) LIGHTFOOT; on 1960 elections, BEN DAVIS; on Youth, BILL ALBERTSON; on defense ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN). Now I knew that I made a mistake when I mentioned (PHIL) BART as the chairman on Party organization because in the other notes that I have here it is MICKEY LIMA. On constitution it is NELSON of Washington, miscellaneous is ARNOLD JOHNSON, miscellaneous resolutions is in the .....that you have in your delegation kits. Miscellaneous, ARNOLD JOHNSON; Latin America, TED BASSETT; Appeals, TOM NABRIED; Statement of Party principles. (Someone from floor interrupts and says we'll have to get back to that one).

NELSON: Oh.

NELSON: Appeals, TOM NABRIED; statement of Party principles from Chicago; Women, AMY from New York, (Spells it out as MIMI (believed to be FRIEDLANDER) from New York). Farm, DELL (BERG) Northern California (NELSON spells name as SELL from Northern California).

b6  
b7C

Correction from the floor - Indicates name is DELL from Northern California.

NELSON: That completes the roster of proposed committees and temporary committee chairman. If this lineup is accepted then the temporary committee chairmen will report to Comrade (PHIL) BART for committee room assignment, that will be following this afternoon session.

NELSON: In reply - this question was not raised. Perhaps we have some kind of a mistake here, I do not know. Is PHIL here, he has some notes on it. Calls PHIL to speakers platform.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Is there a subcommittee on press? It was not mentioned.

JAC:rmv

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DURHAM: Is there a subcommittee on press?

NELSON: The question on press has just been asked - the proposal was GEORGE MEYERS as the temporary chairman.

DURHAM: We'll take the questions very quickly and stay on the subject we are now discussing and then we can go into a discussion later. On the question I have about DOT HEALEY (?) she will be working on one of the committees.

NELSON: Interjects - will you hold this in abeyance until we get ourselves straightened out?

NELSON: Well, I am trying to report from .....but I am not sure which two it is at the moment. Would you just be patient until we get this one straightened out?

NELSON: I told you it was the farm question. Please let me straighten this out.

PHIL BART: I was told that Comrade DELL was in charge of the farm committee - in charge of the work - .....- In reference to the committee, I have to be guided by the names that were handed in by districts. The other names were not handed in by the districts. And working as speedily as we had to we took the names that comrades had placed on the list of committees and took them according to the names and they were difficult to check. There certainly shouldn't be any objection to any committees that such comrades did not .....

NELSON: The purpose of naming temporary chairmen is to get the committees organized, the committee names its own chairman.

DURHAM: Just a moment comrades. Let's get this thing organized.



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UNKNOWN FEMALE: Continues to interrupt from floor.

DURHAM: Ask the chair for a .....

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Can't understand why there is so much time being wasted. What about the work to be done by these committees.

DURHAM: Well we have time for one more explanation then we have to proceed.

NELSON: I don't think we have to have a long hassle. We've named the subcommittee chairmen for one reason - to call a meeting for tonight and try to get organized. There was no intent here to replace anyone. All we want is someone to pick up the material, find the room they are to be in and call the meeting to order so they can name the chairman and secretary.

DURHAM: All right comrades, a discussion of the presiding proposal. Is this on the presiding committee proposal? All right.

UNKNOWN MALE: .....Southern California is separate from Northern California (laughter)..there is quite a little difference.

DURHAM: Do you have a motion to that effect?

DURHAM: Will the presiding committee report on the credentials committee and the rules committee?

NELSON: We will in a moment.

DURHAM: This comrade here .....

UNKNOWN MALE: I want to propose consideration be given to.....

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NELSON: I would suggest that the presiding committee take this under consideration and give you a report on it. We have no such proposal at the moment.

DURHAM: Comrade

UNKNOWN FEMALE: I am not clear on one question. The committee on general resolutions - what is that composed of? Only two people?

NELSON: No, what we proposed is a chairman and a secretary elected here. Plus the chairman of and secretary of the committee on peace and disarmament, on the 1960 elections, on the trade union question, on the Negro question and on the Party.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Now one other question. You're not proposing chairman - you're proposing temporary chairman.

NELSON: Temporary chairmen to get these committees working. We hope the committees will work this out themselves.

DURHAM: Comrade TOOHEY.

TOOHEY: (Inaudible)

NELSON: Comrades, the presiding committee is proposing an individual to draw the committees together. I think the point is quite clear that each committee will elect its own chairman. Recommendations for the committees came from the districts. At least that is my understanding. I don't know why we have to continue the discussion. The committees will have full authority to elect a leadership, effect its report and conduct its business. If there is no further argument, I will move that the next order of business and so conduct it.

JAC:rmv

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The question before the house are the recommendations of the presiding committee of the convention. Is there discussion on that question?

UNKNOWN MALE: In order to make this question proper in its perspective, I suggest that .....based upon the general agreement.

DURHAM: It has been moved and seconded that the chairman and secretary of the committee on youth work be placed on the general nomination in that manner - general resolutions committee. Is there discussion of that motion? Are you ready to vote on that motion? All those in favor signify by raising your delegates card. All those opposed. So ordered.

DURHAM: Now on the rest of the recommendations of the presiding committee, are you ready to vote on the rest as proposed by the committee chairman? All those in favor signify by raising your delegates card. All those opposed. So ordered.

NELSON: The credentials committee. Now this is a temporary committee that will meet and complete its work very quickly and the members of this committee will then be available and be able to serve on other committees. So we feel there is no conflict with people being a member of this committee and serving on some other committee. Comrade KLING (ph) and it looks like IRWIN (believed to be MILES) from New York, ROCEESTER (STERLING ROCHESTER) from Eastern Pennsylvania and HANLEY (believed to be HEMINGSON) (Ph) from Minnesota. With KLING, I believe, being the temporary chairman.

DURHAM: You have heard the recommendations of the presiding committee are there further nominations for the credentials committee? Now are your ready to vote on the recommendations? Are you ready to vote on the nominations? (outburst from the floor).

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NELSON: KLING is the first one, from Chicago; IRWIN from New York; ROCHESTER from Eastern Pa.; HANLEY from Minnesota.

DURHAM: Are there further recommendation for the credentials committee? There has been a motion to accept, do I hear a second? (seconded from the floor). Is there a discussion of the motion? All those in favor signify by raising their delegates card. Down. All those opposed. So ordered.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, I'm terribly sorry, but we would like to have somebody from Southern California on that committee.

DURHAM: I've asked you four times for nominations. Now we can't hold a convention unless we cooperate. Now will you please pay attention to the chair and maybe we can have the nominations at the proper time....if it is all right with the convention we will allow the comrades of California to give us a nomination. It will take you a few seconds to give us a nomination. Is there a nomination from California?

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Is the ruling on the credentials committee the same as all other committees? Namely that the comrades named by the districts who attend those committee meetings..because we submitted the names already.

DURHAM: MARTINEZ (Ph) (Belived to be JOE MARTINEZ) has been added to the credentials committee...Southern California. Are there further nominations? Let's try to make it short; are there any objections to adding a comrade to the credentials committee by this convention? So ordered.

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NELSON: The proposed rules are very brief. Possibly...these will not produce some more rules, as we move on - those we propose now are very short. Number one: Time limit on discussion speakers, 7 minutes with extensions only by vote of the convention. Now our thinking on this is that we have well over a hundred potential speakers here and if we were to extend the initial time longer than this we inescapably would come to the point where we would have to limit people and the thinking is that there are going to be many facets of almost the same subject, for instance if you speak once on peace and disarmament and you wanted to question the floor again on another aspect of it you are entitled to that. It was the thinking of the presiding committee that by doing it this way each person would actually get more time on the floor than if he were allocated 10 or 15 minutes per person.

DURHAM: Second the proposal. Is there any discussion on the proposal?

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Will the list on any particular subject be wiped out or will the list be continued?

NELSON: We have a proposal on that.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: That is important for in 7 minutes you can't say very much...

DURHAM: Do you want to discuss the question or do you want to ask the question?

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I'm checking. Am I ordered to make an amendment or...

DURHAM: Until this question is answered, you are out of order.

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NELSON: I will read the two sections that generally pertain to this in addition to this first part.  
Order of speakers:

No delegate shall speak a second time until all others wishing to speak have spoken. That's point a. Point b. It shall be the policy of this convention that speaking preference be given to those that have not spoken on any other subject so as to give all a chance to be heard.

DURHAM recognizes an unknown subject from the floor.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I would like to make an amendment...  
I would like to amend the motion from 7 to 10 minutes....at the last delegation that most likely none of the delegates would have a chance to speak twice or twice on other subjects, if they were not the same ones they discussed first. I would like to amend this 7 minutes to 10 minutes to make sure that when a comrade speaks he is free to cover the subject, not completely but better than in 7 minutes.

DURHAM: An amendment has been made for an extension to 10 minutes. It has been seconded. Is there any further discussion on the amendment?

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I wish to speak against the amendment.  
It is the bitter experience that ... 10 minute limit at a convention.. and when it comes the third day bango everybody goes on new business. That is all you get..... you fool around with more new business..and getting ourselves setup and taking three days to do that and then giving extended time at the beginning of the convention for the last time..when the important questions come up like voting on your resolutions and stuff like that, you don't have any time. I think that we had better discipline ourselves right now to 7 minutes and stick to that and maybe we will get some place.

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UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Comrades, you have got to understand the way the discussions are offered. It is broken into topics. If you for instance are discussing trade union question, you have to bear with it a time and you don't get a chance to talk on the Party situation. Or on questions of leadership, etc., etc. which incidentally you are entitled to hear. Therefore, once you speak on any one subject you are done for for the rest except when the questions come up...I don't think comrades that is effective discussion. It is true that everybody is entitled to speak but if we had forty or fifty people speaking effectively, expressing themselves, it is far better than trying to rush through things and not making...In order to give yourself a chance to speak substantially on the resolutions you are not to be misled that you will have another chance on any other subject and then drag it in..I think that you ought to give yourself plenty of it. And then if you want to cut, you cut if you think there has been a substantial enough discussion. I urge you to give consideration to a .. and better discussion instead of a railroad, a railroading through that won't help us any.

DURHAM: We had one speaker for and one speaker against. The chair is going to put the motion to the convention. The proposal is that we extend the time to 10 minutes per speaker. We are voting on the amendment which raises the time to 10 minutes. All those in favor of that amendment signify by raising your cards. Down please. All those opposed to the amendment. It is the opinion of the chair that the motion is defeated. The time limit is proposed for 7 minutes. All those in favor signify by raising your cards. All those opposed. So ordered.

NELSON: The second proposal was that in any order of speakers no delegate will speak a second time until all others wishing to speak have spoken.

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DURHAM: Is there a second to that proposal? Are you ready to vote? All those in favor signify by raising your delegates cards. All those opposed. So ordered.

NELSON: Next point. It shall be the policy of the convention as speaking precedence to give into those who have not spoken on any other subject, so as to give all a chance to be heard. May I move that this be adopted.

DURHAM: Second to the proposal? Any discussion of the proposal? Are you ready to vote? All those in favor signify by raising your cards. All opposed. So ordered.

NELSON: The following concluding proposal on the matter of rules is that on all questions which the convention has not adopted a specific rule, Robert's Rules of Order shall prevail and we propose a parliamentarian to assist the chairman when it is necessary. Comrade NAT (believed to be ROSENBLUTH) from New York.

DURHAM: You have heard the proposal. Is there a second to the proposal? Are you ready to vote? All those in favor signify by raising your cards. All those opposed. So ordered.

NELSON: In the scheduled procedure for this afternoon we propose that following the keynote speech (DURHAM interrupts - Comrades it is awful difficult to get these points across just a little before we get started. Everyone pay attention to the ...) following the report or the keynote addresses by Comrade GUS we have a break for the reading of the greetings. This will be followed by an initial report on Peace and Disarmament by Comrade LUMER on behalf of the National Executive Committee. Now we take this step because we want to get this key and vital question on the floor for discussion as soon as possible, so that the committee acting on this question will have the experience, thinking of the convention before it actually goes to work this evening.



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DURHAM: Do you have a question, Comrade? Is there a second to the proposal of the presiding committee? Is there any discussion of the proposal?

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Is there going to be any time for discussion today?

NELSON: Well, we had hoped that there would be. I cannot say. We had hoped that there would be.

DURHAM: No motions, no hopes. (Laughter)

DURHAM: Is there any discussion of the proposal? Are you now ready to vote? All those in favor signify by raising your delegates cards. Any opposed? So ordered. That concludes the report by the presiding committee. The next order of business is the keynote report - to be given by a comrade who I'm sure needs no introduction to the comrades in this room. One of the outstanding fighters of our Party, who informed me incidentally, to inform the convention that he had one day to prepare for this keynote, but we know that he has been preparing all his life in the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism. With that I would like to introduce Comrade GUS HALL.

HALL: I was trying to find some precedent or authority or encouragement to the idea that you take off a few hours to prepare a keynote for an important convention and the only so-called excuse that I could come up with was the remark of a German philosopher some time ago, who stated that he who ponders longest over matters does not necessarily come up with the best answers. Secondly, but I think in the true sense of the word, the way that the convention discussion and the convention has been prepared that I'm sure that we could get along even without a keynote and we would still have a successful convention.

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So in listening to this keep in mind that it is a draft that has not been corrected or I didn't have a chance to make small corrections that should be made.

(NY T-2 furnished a mimeographed copy of GUS HALL's keynote speech which was distributed at the convention. The text is in agreement with that furnished by NY T-1. It is as follows:)

LET US SET OUR SIGHTS TO THE FUTURE

By: Gus Hall

(Keynote speech to the 17th National Convention,  
Communist Party of the U.S.A., December 10, 1959.)

I. A NEW ERA IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

These are turbulent times. We are living in a period when events move with great speed--when decades are at times telescoped into weeks. Nor is the turbulence merely on the surface of things. The movement of events today is profoundly reshaping the world. It is basically altering the relationship of forces and is creating a constant succession of new, unprecedented situations. And the pace of these changes grows faster as time goes on.

It is in the midst of these developments that our 17th Convention meets. During the next four days we will undertake, dispassionately and realistically, to appraise the state of affairs in the world and in our own country, and to chart our course for the momentous period which lies ahead of us. This is a difficult task, but it is also an exciting and enthusing task--and a rewarding one.

TWO CONVENTIONS

The scope and speed of events is dramatized with

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special force by the contrast between the atmosphere, surrounding circumstances and outlook of this convention and the corresponding features of the 16th Convention. That convention took place in the midst of confusion and bewilderment resulting from the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU concerning the weaknesses and mistakes of the Stalin era. It took place amid the disorientation and questioning created by the Polish and Hungarian revolts.

That was a period when world tensions were on the upgrade, and when the Dulles policies of "brinkmanship" and "massive retaliation" were in the ascendency. It was the period of the Suez invasion.

It was a time when the Party was in the depths of a crisis in which its very life or death was a subject of intense debate. It was a time of the gathering of the right opportunist and liquidationist forces for their assault on the Party, an assault reflecting the world-wide revisionist swing which developed under the pressures of bourgeois ideology and as a reaction to the "Left" sectarian, dogmatic practices of the past.

Finally, the convention took place when the Party was just emerging from the disruption created by the attacks on it under the Smith Act and other repressive measures of the period when Mc Carthyism was at its heights.

Looking back on the situation of those days, it must be said that the 16th Convention, in spite of all its weaknesses, was a positive achievement.

That convention had before it two central problems: 1) Whether or not there was a place for a Communist Party in the U.S., and; 2) whether such a Party, under American conditions, could be a Marxist-Leninist Party. Despite the difficulties of that period, the struggle and the resolutions gave affirmative answers to those questions and laid the basis for the re-consolidation of our Party. Those struggles were necessary, and they prepared the Party to meet today's tasks.

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As is true in all phenomena, the elements of change--of the new--were then already discernable. The McCarthyite hysteria had already begun to subside. The Supreme Court decision had opened the doors to a new stage of the school desegregation fight. The peace movement was beginning to move forward, with the development of the campaign against nuclear tests. And the painful re-examination and correction of the 20th Congress continued within themselves the seeds of a new clarity and cleansing, and of a new upsurge of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. All these developments, however, were then present in embryo or in their initial stages.

How radically and unalterably different are the circumstances in which our 17th Convention meets! Our Party enters this convention victorious over the elements of liquidationism and revisionism, and having in the main eradicated their twin evils--"Left" sectarianism and dogmatism.

This is a convention which ends all holding operations and set our sights to the future. It is a convention of advance, of progress. This is the first convention to take place in the era when the socialist forces of the world have attained dominance, and when the world peace forces, for the first time in history, are the most powerful voice and movement on the world scene. This convention is being held at a time when the portals of opportunity have been opened to a new era of mankind, free of the scourge of war.

And it is being held at a time when the decline in our own ranks has been halted, when the morale and fighting spirit of our membership is on the upgrade, reflecting these new developments in the world. The factionalism which caused such tremendous damage and threatened the very existence of the Party has been defeated, though remnants of it still exist.

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In view of all this, the goals and aims of this convention must be far higher, far in advance of those of the 16th Convention. The heart of the 16th Convention was the struggle against those who maintained that there was no place for a Communist Party. Today this question does not even exist. Rather the central question of this convention is: What is the role of the Party in this entirely new situation? How can it now move out into the broad stream of the peoples movement; how can it break the bonds of its isolation and become more and more effectively a factor in the life of our nation--in the growing movement for peace, in the struggle of the workers, the Negro people, the youth and other sections of the people.

#### A NEW ERA

Dialectics teaches us that everything is in a process of endless change, a process in which there is a constant conflict between the old and the new. As Marxists, as fighters for progress, we therefore at all times seek out what is new.

But not everything that is new is important. Hence we have to single out that which is not only new but significant--that which indicates the future direction of development. To do that, we must thoroughly study the history of the development of the new and its emergence from the past.

We must ever be on the alert for the signs of the new, but at the same time we must not make the mistake of acting as if it were already here full-blown. When we see the first green shoots of grass, we do not say, "Let's make hay." Instead, we do what is necessary to bring it to the point where it is full-grown. Then, when the sun shines, we are ready to make hay.

It is in such a light that we should examine what

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is new in the world of today. And there is plenty. This is the beginning of a new era in the life of our nation, our people and our Party. And we must not only see but must clearly define the features of this new era.

These were born and matured in the era that is ended--the era to which Henry Luce gave the name "The American Century." That was the era of the unquestioned dominance of the American monopolies in the capitalist world, of continuous expansion and growth with apparently no serious challenge from any source. It was an era in which American capitalism reached unprecedented heights, in which the rest of the capitalist world, prostrated by the war, lay at the feet of American big business. It was the era of "positions of strength," of dictation to other countries and infringement on their sovereignty.

It was an era that produced such bombastic, arrogant "carrot and club" policies as "containment" and "rollback" of the socialist world, and of trade embargoes intended to strangle its economic development. It was an era when American military bases mushroomed all over the face of the earth, and when the coffers of the American trusts were swelled with the profits extracted from the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Truly, the "American Century" seemed quite real and impressive.

This was the America which molded and left its imprint on our living standards our culture, our thinking and our attitude toward the rest of the world. This is the America we must understand if we are to grasp the developing new features of the America which is succeeding it.

Let us now take a closer look at the new and developing. First we must look at the position our nation occupies in the world.

The outstanding world phenomenon of today is the fact that the balance of strength is tipping decidedly in the direction of the socialist world. This is a development of

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profound importance to every capitalist country, but its impact on the leading capitalist stronghold, the bastion of world capitalism, is a virtually explosive one.

The roots of these new relationships lie in the emergence after World War II of not one but a group of socialist countries--a socialist sector of the world embracing fully one-third of its people. These countries, bursting onto the scene of history, have undergone a meteoric growth, and are today moving at a terrific pace in their industrial, scientific, social and cultural development. Within a matter of a relatively few years, these socialist countries, so recently looked upon as backward, bid to become the dominant economic force in the world, producing more than half of its total industrial output.

This is a fundamental change, whose ramifications basically affect all parts of the world. But it is not the only challenge which has developed to the position of American capitalism.

Thus, it coincides with the beginning of the end of the era of imperialism. One colonial country after another is breaking out of its bondage and setting forth on the path of independence and national freedom. Beginning in Asia and the Near East, this development is sweeping across Africa, and is now challenging the dominance of the United States in what has been its own preserve, Latin America. The revolutionary development in Cuba, and their courageous resistance to American imperialist intervention, is an inspiration to the people's forces throughout this hemisphere. This bloc of newly liberated countries, represents a powerful new force on the world scene.

These developments have narrowed the sphere of colonial exploitation and have shut off, one after another, the pipelines of imperialist superprofits from these sources. The independence of these countries today is not nominal but genuine. What makes it genuine is the existence of the socialist world--a world on which they can rely for the

JAC:rmv

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assistance they need, and which imperialism has so long denied them. Certainly the very lives of the new regimes in Egypt, Iraq and Cuba would have been cut short, were it not for the firm position for non-intervention taken by the peace forces of the world, with the Soviet Union, People's China and other Socialist nations in the forefront. A further dramatic example was the Soviet Union's economic assistance in the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt after the United States had refused. Herein lies the basis of the policy of neutrality adopted by these nations, and of their generally friendly attitude toward the socialist countries.

A third major development of this era is the economic revival of the other capitalist countries. These have repaired the ravages of the war, and have gone through an extended period of expansion and modernization of their productive facilities. Today they are able to compete with American capitalist in field after field in which American products once reigned supreme. The share of the United States in world capitalist production, once over 50%, is now closer to 40. And the dominance which previously seemed so unquestioned is increasingly being challenged.

Growing competition from abroad has greatly narrowed the trade surplus enjoyed by this country for a number of years, and this has contributed to a huge jump in the deficit in the balance of payments with other countries. This deficit first appeared in 1950, and for the next several years it averaged about a billion dollars a year. But for the past two years, it has totalled more than \$7½ billion. And this has created a threat to the stability of the dollar which is causing American big business no small alarm.

At the recent National Foreign Trade Convention in New York, the new factors in the world situation were recognized by more than one of the speakers. Thus, one



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said: "American industry must accept the concept that today's customers may be tomorrow's competitors." Another spoke of the need "to face the central issue of how to have both cooperation and competition." Such positions are a far cry from the old policies in foreign trade.

The distinction is also illustrated by the fact that half a dozen years ago the Western European countries were appealing to the United States to let down its trade bars, under the slogan of "trade, not aid." But today it is Undersecretary of State Dillon who travels to Europe to ask for more markets for American goods from these very same countries.

Today, too, it is President Eisenhower who travels across half the world, on a trip representing an attempt to meet with concrete actions the challenges from all three major sources.

World War II, with the growth of the socialist world and the development of the colonial liberation movement, ushered in a new and deeper stage of the general crises of capitalism. The developments since then have given rise to yet another, still deeper, stage of the general crisis.

This is the new world in which our country must make a place for itself. In a true sense of the word, the problem our people face is that of finding the least painful transition from the "American Century" to the new era of challenge, of peaceful coexistence.

#### THE FIGHT FOR PEACE--YESTERDAY AND TODAY

The central expression of the "American Century" concept has been the cold war. But with the fading of this concept, the cold-war policies of "positions of strength" and brinkmanship have proven themselves increasingly bankrupt.

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In this, a major factor has been also the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

As a result, American big business has been compelled to begin a painful re-examination of its policies--in the words of Dulles himself, an "agonizing reappraisal"--and to take a more realistic approach to the situation in which it finds itself.

In this lie the reasons for the proposal by Eisenhower for an exchange of visits with Khrushchev, leading to the historic visit of Khrushchev to this country and its momentous consequences. Among these were the Camp David agreement that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations, "laying the basis for summit discussions, as well as for direct meetings between heads of states. Among them, too, are a number of immediate gains--the conclusion of an agreement for expanded cultural exchange, agreements for cooperation in nuclear research and for joint medical research projects, and of great significance, the agreement between the nations regarding the Antarctic continent.

This represents a break in the direction of American foreign policy. How fast or how far it will move in this new direction depends on the American people and on the pressure they exert.

It is not by any means the end of the cold war. The Eisenhower Administration has not yet shown in practice either the will or the actions to guarantee that this is the direction our country will follow. It has recognized the need for a change, but there is no indication as to how far reaching, or complete that change will be. And the die-hard cold war forces, who are very powerful, have already launched a counteroffensive designed to regain the ground they have lost and to wipe out whatever advances toward peace have been won. This is something which must be taken very seriously.

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But the key thing is that the public admission of the bankruptcy of the old policies and the need for a change has opened the flood gates of discussion as to what the new policies should be. Peace therefore emerges more than ever as the central issue of our day. It is to this that we must apply ourselves with all the energy, skill and ingenuity at our command. It is to this that our work in all other fields must be related.

In this connection, we must see clearly the distinctive features of the fight for peace in the present period. In past years, we organized, conducted and led a campaign for peace, including the notable Stockholm Peace Appeal. We did so in the context of the fundamentally correct analysis that a danger of war existed, exemplified by Korea and later by Indo-China. Today we are again taking part in a campaign for peace, but in the context of a new analysis--again fundamentally correct--that lasting peace, total disarmament and peaceful co-existence are in the cards, that they are realizable goals.

Both are campaigns for peace, but under much different conditions. Are we not called upon, then to think about specific tactics to meet the specific conditions that flow out of the difference in the specific situations surrounding them? The past drive was based on a negative development; this one is based on a positive development. The past drive took place in a situation in which the peace forces were growing but not yet dominant; this one takes place in a situation in which the peace forces are already the stronger. The past drive occurred in an atmosphere of jingoism and national chauvinism; this one is unfolding in an atmosphere in which the whole nation is discussing the banning of nuclear tests, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence. These factors should indicate to us the need for new, fresh, concrete thinking.

#### WE MUST BE SPECIFIC

The sentiment for peace is general and over-all in

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scope. This sentiment has grown in intensity as the weapons of war have increased in destructiveness. And as the balance of world forces has shifted, so have the moods and thinking of the mass of Americans shifted toward peace. It is this over-all yearning and concern for peace that forms the foundation for a concerted mass crusade for survival. This crusade is, of course, of utmost importance, and we must devote our best energies and forces to it. However, this is not enough. Such a general crusade will not by itself secure lasting peace.

The fight for peace must be developed in more specific forms. Its mooring lines must be tied to the specific self-interest of specific sections of the people. The campaign for peace is directed toward saving our lives and our civilization from destruction. But it also brings with it certain immediate benefits for the people and--yes--for the industrialists immediate profits. It is in relation to this that we must develop the slogans and the campaign for total disarmament.

Cutting down on armaments is the only possible road to cutting down the over-mounting burden of taxes. Only if we have a cut in arms production will we have a cut in prices. The building of the schools, roads, hospitals, parks, houses and other things the people so badly need, is blocked by the spending of huge sums for the stockpiling of instruments of destruction. Surely the problem of the huge farm surpluses, with the resulting impoverishment in many agricultural areas, is bound up with the opening of world-wide markets in a world free from armament burdens. These and many more are the mooring lines to which the fight for peace must be secured.

A generation of the American people have grown up in and made a livelihood from an economy that in large measure has been supported and souped up by war orders.

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War economy has been accepted as a normal and necessary part of our economic system. This stands as a roadblock to a full mobilization of the forces for peace. As Comrade Lumer's report will show concretely, this is a false conception. We have the task of removing this roadblock.

During these same years of the arms economy, a body of thought has developed to the effect that the Negro people can break down the bars of discrimination in industry, housing and education only when our nation is either at war or preparing for war. Unfortunately, there has been an element of truth in this. But we must show clearly how disarmament and peace can be conducive to an atmosphere in which this struggle can more readily be won. Wars and war tensions bring with them a growth of chauvinism and jingoism, while peace is conducive to an atmosphere of brotherhood and understanding. We must understand these special roadblocks to the movement for peace among the Negro people.

Many Negro workers are at the bottom of the seniority list. Therefore any cutback in production means unemployment for them. This is a definite challenge to us in working out a substitute for military production.

Similarly, we need to deal with other specific problems affecting the young people, women, the handicapped and the older workers. Generalities will not do.

Hence, while we take part in the general crusade for peace, we must understand that specific groups, because of specific interests, will start from and rally around narrower issues involved in the fight for peace. With some, unrestricted trade with the socialist countries will be the starting point, with others it will be the dangers of fallout. For still others, disarmament will be the point of greatest interest.

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We must see the fight for peace realistically in all its many-sided aspects. At this point, the need is not for starting a peace movement from scratch. Such a movement is here. It expresses itself in a thousand ways and at a variety of levels. At this stage, it is above all expressed through the existing mass organizations of the people.

In a nation like ours, where almost everyone belongs to one or more mass organization, this is a firm and certainly a broad base. Here is where we should be working to help build and elevate the peace movement. While doing so, we should also have our sights on more concerted and united movements, conferences and actions of various kinds on local, state and national levels. If the central issue of peace is to give rise to the greatest, most persistent crusade of our times, what is needed is not one but a number of national centers to guide, prod and organize it. Not only is this necessary with respect to specific issues but in addition, it seems to me, the youth, women, farmers, veterans and other groups need such special centers of direction.

#### PROBLEMS ON THE HOME FRONT

As in all phenomena, there is a close relationship between world developments and those on the domestic scene.

What is it that best describes our domestic situation as we enter the decade of the sixties? Is it tranquility, stability? Are we moving on the path of unending growth and expansion? In spite of the present high level of production, this does not fit the realities of life in our country. Rather, the state of affairs in our nation is better described as one of instability, uneasiness and hesitation. What best describes the United States of the sixties is the growing catalog of serious problems, steadily becoming more aggravated, which are seeking solution.

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What gives these developments such importance and seriousness is that they occur simultaneously with the developments on the world scene which we have described.

An outstanding new feature on the home scene is the development of automation, whose many ramifications and effects are now reaching into all aspects of our national life. Strictly speaking, automation is still an infant. But it is already throwing its weight around like a full-grown heavyweight.

A most striking evidence of its effects is the rise in unemployment in the successive postwar boom periods. In the peak boom year of 1953, following the 1948-49 slump, 2.9% of the labor force was unemployed. In 1956, the year of peak economic activity following the 1953-54 slump, the figure was 4.2%. In the present period, which follows the depression of 1957-58, unemployment has remained well above 5% of the labor force. In October, 1959 it stood at 6%. Speaking on this question Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota had the following to say:

16. "This is far too high for a dynamic economy, but its effect could be managed if it were spread evenly throughout the economy. The fact is that unemployment has reached disaster proportions in certain regions and for certain age, racial and educational groups."

What these figures show is a re-emergence since the war of the industrial reserve army on a growing scale. And in this, the displacement of workers through automation is playing a constantly growing part.

Automation, and the determination of the monopolies to clear the way for more rapid automation, is also largely at the bottom of the current drive to undermine working conditions in steel, on the railroads,

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on the waterfront, and in many other industries. It serves also as an instrument used by big business for the destruction of its small competitors and increased concentration of ownership and control. The slogan of big business has become "Automate or Die." And in the process, many do die.

Other reports will go further into the problems arising from automation. Here I want only to point out how different are its consequences under socialism. In a socialist society all technological advances are welcome. The fruits of science and technology are no problem, but rather the foundation on which the economy will rapidly be built to new heights, the basis of the goal of surpassing our own standard of living. The rapid development of automation in the Socialist Nation will serve to prod the development of automation here; but the benefits from automation to the workers in the Socialist Countries will also serve to inspire our workers, helping them to see the need for Socialism, and to struggle for the benefits of automation here.

We must work out definite plans and demands with the aim that at least part of the fruits of this technological advance will go to benefit the working people of our land. A proper examination of the questions growing out of automation is also the key to understanding the present big business drive against organized labor.

A second major feature of the home scene is the growing financial instability of the country. Our national debt is higher than it was at the end of the war, and is still rising. The taxpayers are saddled with a burden of interest now well over \$9 billion a year and still going up. State and local debts have been going up by leaps and bounds and are at an all-time high. Private debt has multiplied several times during the postwar years. The burden of taxes has grown to impossible levels, yet government debts continue to rise. Prices have risen greatly since the end of the war and the value of the dollar



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has been steadily shrinking. The federal government is experiencing increasing difficulty in financing the national debt and borrowing more money. As one observer has remarked, the credit of the United States government, once considered the soundest in the world, is now becoming shaky. And because of this country's world role, these developments are having world-wide repercussions.

A third important feature is the chronic agricultural crisis. Farmers are being increasingly squeezed between shrinking farm prices and mounting production costs. Farm income is steadily declining, and is now at its lowest point in seventeen years. Our storage facilities are being choked by the growing mountain of unsaleable surpluses of farm products. There are growing areas of desolation in marginal farmlands, with farmers driven out in rising numbers thanks to the development of modern, mechanized farming in the more productive areas. All in all, America's farmers are in serious difficulties, which are having an effect on the entire country.

To these features, we may add the failure of our society to provide adequate housing, education and health facilities, whose lack grows more acute from year to year. There is also the growing stench of corruption and moral decay, which is penetrating every corner of American life. As one person expressed it, "Everybody is on the gravy train of payola these days--except the working people."

Affected by all these things in the sharpest measure are in the first place the 18 million Negro people, as well as the 5 million Mexican-American and the million or more Puerto Ricans in the United States. The slum housing and the ghettos to which they are confined are becoming not better but steadily worse. They are the most severely affected by the unfair system of taxation, by rising prices, by unemployment and by the farm crisis.

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This the America we see as we enter the decade of the sixties. These are the realities of life on the home front, corresponding to those in the world situation. It is these realities of life to which this convention must apply itself, and with which the Party must deal.

#### MEETING THE CHALLENGE

How does America react to these developments? What are the different currents which are emerging? In what direction are the different groups moving? In short, how is America meeting the challenge?

American monopoly capital is reacting to the world situation with attempts to readjust, reassess and make changes in its foreign policy, to accomodate itself to present-day realities. This is most dramatically demonstrated by the proposal for the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange of visits. And this has been one of the basic factors in opening up the new possibilities which now exist in the fight for peace.

Thus, we have on the one hand the beginnings of a readjustment of direction in the sphere of foreign policy. But on the other hand, monopoly capital has reacted to the developments at home in an opposite manner. On this front, it is developing a most far-reaching, concentrated drive against labor, whose aim is to deprive the unions of all economic and political power, and to place them under complete government domination and control. The drive is marked especially by the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act, but the attack on the steel union, and by a rash of proposals for additional anti-labor laws, including the outlawing of major strikes. The scope of the attack is indicated by the fact that Adlai Stevenson, who seeks the Democratic presidential nomination, has added his voice to the demand for outlawing strikes. The fight against this drive is

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the central issue, and we must not permit it to be sidetracked by such peripheral issues as racketeering, corruption and undemocratic practices, important as these are.

Accompanying the anti-labor offensive is a drive against civil rights and civil liberties. The forces of reaction have succeeded in bogging down completely the implementation of the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision. They have wiped the names of a quarter of a million southern Negro voters from the registration lists. They have been able to intimidate the Supreme Court and to make it retreat from its position on anti-Communist laws and other repressive measures, affecting not only the rights of Communists but those of the entire American people. The situation has reached such proportions that a Harry Truman, who once had liberal pretensions, now makes speeches against liberalism.

The entire drive of big-business reaction is of such scope and nature as to make the overwhelming majority of Americans its victims. In this lies the key to our mass and united front policies.

The victims of this drive have begun to fight back, and to give expression to their protests, resentments and demands. This is the basic feature of the situation, which we must recognize despite the confusion, hesitation, waverings and ups and downs of the movement which exist.

In the labor movement, there are pressures and rumblings from below, of which sections of the leadership are being compelled to take note. The bankruptcy of the old policies of the labor leadership in the face of the new problems is becoming increasingly felt. A striking expression of the new moods developing among the rank and file is the militancy shown by the steel workers during and since their strike.

The Negro people's movement has shown an upsurge in a number of fields. New independent political movements are making their appearance. New levels of organization and activity are developing among Negro trade unionists, as witnessed by the struggles they waged

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at the AFL-CIO and UAW conventions. Of major importance is the formation of the Negro Labor Committee on the initiative of A. Philip Randolph.

Among the youth, there are growing signs of rebellion against the lack of decent jobs and training facilities, against the McCarthyite intimidation which disgraces our educational institutions, against segregation, and against the corruption and lack of perspective emanating from the cold-war atmosphere and pressures. To a growing extent, youth are becoming active in the peace movement today.

And so it is, too, with other sections of the people.

#### THE 1960 ELECTIONS

All these movements and struggles are developing alongside of the peace movement, and are related and intertwined with it, so that the success of one is dependent on that in others. To give leadership and guidance to this complex of movements at their existing level is therefore the central mass task of the Party. The multiplicity of forms and levels of the unfolding of the people's resistance must become our primary concern.

While these grow and are built around specific issues as they confront the people, in the direction of their movement and in their objective totality they are movements directed against monopoly. We want to participate in, organize and lead the broadest of united front movements--on every level--in a thousand ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues--if possible, with 180,000,000 people. Obviously, we cannot make an understanding of the anti-monopoly character of these struggles on the part of others a condition for a united front. But we ourselves must at all times understand that this is their basic nature.

Our electoral policies and activities in 1960 constitute an extension of such a united front policy. In very specific forms, the American people must find ways,

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through candidates and campaigns, to advance the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and to halt the offensive of big business at home. Wherever possible, the gap between these two opposite directions of development should be bridged in candidates and programs. However, where this is not possible, we should not therefore limit our electoral activities. We must find ways of support to candidates who take a positive position on the peace issue, while opposing any support they may give to the big business offensive at home, and vice versa.

While giving priority to the peace issue, all the needs of the people must be fought for--wages, jobs, labor's rights, civil rights and liberties, social security housing, health, youth needs, etc. It is essential to show the direct relationship between the cold war and vast military expenditures and the social and economic needs of the people.

On the basis of such movements and in connection with the election campaign efforts must be made to forge broad electoral unity to oppose the chief candidates of reaction and the cold war and to promote the nomination and election of pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates for offices at all levels including trade unionists and Negro representatives. It is also necessary to nominate and elect representatives from other minority groups especially Puerto Rican and Mexican.

Labor and the Negro people can no longer be satisfied by a small few from their own ranks in Congress and public office. This election must see a substantial number of labor and Negro candidates from the primaries through the elections.

An imperative task is to make the Dixiecrats a major target of attack, to expose and isolate them and to defeat their reactionary Republican and Democratic Party allies in the North. In the Democratic Party, in the labor unions and Negro people's organizations, and in all organizations that support the Democratic Party, the

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demand often raised by liberal forces should be pressed with full force today, namely to oust the Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party.

The proposal of the Civil Rights Commission to establish Federal Registrars must be applied in 1960 and guarantee the full right to register and vote to Negroes and others who are now denied that right by local restrictive practices of any kind.

The offensive of big business has given impetus and opportunity to advance independent political action on the part of the labor movement. By boldly moving into the apparatus of the two-party system, and by mobilizing and organizing an independent political force around this activity, the base for the future can be laid. Only through such activity will there emerge the understanding, the leadership and the personnel for a completely independent organization or party of the developing anti-monopoly movement, headed by labor, in the period ahead.

## II. THE PARTY

Our Party has traveled a difficult path -- and this not only since the 16th Convention. The enemy has thrown wave after wave, both internally and externally, against us now for 10 years. We can say with just pride that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has come through the fires battered but intact. We have suffered defeats but in an overall sense we have matured, become steeled and tempered.

As we all know, a Marxist-Leninist Party must not only base itself on the general truth but must gear itself to the specific surroundings and conditions in which it lives and works. So, if we are to reflect this maturity, we must in the quickest possible time gear ourselves to the new period ahead of us. One of the best guarantees that we will be able to meet this challenge is that we are now a

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united party. Therefore we can now turn all of our attention and energies to the mass tasks and political responsibilities we face. Because of this we can now put aside all one-sidedness and hesitations.

Possibly it was unavoidable, but the fact is that we have now gone through a period that could be called a "holding operation," an operation to stop the decline and deterioration of our Party. I think it is realistic to say that we can now end all such concepts. We are no longer a holding operation but a live, growing organization. Many districts have already demonstrated their ability to move and grow, but this must now become a general rule for the whole Party. In short, both the objective and subjective conditions are now ripe for our Party to move into a position of becoming a serious factor in the life of our nation, in the work of the trade unions, the Negro people, the youth, the farmers and other sections of the population.

#### END NEGATIVISM

I will not attempt to go into all facets of the work of our Party, as that will be done in separate reports, including a report on Party organization. Therefore, I would like to limit my remarks to one or two specific questions.

I want to call your attention to one left-over of the past period that we must eliminate. Some of our cadre and a small section of our membership and especially some of the friends and members who left our ranks are afflicted by a disease one could designate as "negativism." Let me speak directly to you, comrades and friends, who are so afflicted.

This negativism or cynicism is not based on realities. There is no realistic political foundation for such an outlook on life in general, on the prospects of socialism, or on the immediate future. Your moods arise because you have permitted temporary subjective

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factors to overwhelm your better judgment. You should carefully assess the fact that you cannot remain on the side lines with a wait-and-see attitude without a slow, possibly unnoticed process of corrosion and deterioration setting in. Now let me say that in reading the following quotation from Dostoyevsky, I have nobody specifically in mind. But I do say that Dostoyevsky describes the final product if negativism and cynicism is followed to its logical conclusion: So, instead of presenting it as being descriptive of anyone I know, let us see it as a warning. Dostoyevsky writes:

"For all his intense sensibility he frankly considers himself a mouse and not a man. I grant you it is an intensely conscious mouse, but it is a mouse all the same.....

"Well, let us now have a look at this mouse in action. Let us suppose, for instance, that its feelings are hurt (and its feelings are almost always hurt), and that it also wants to avenge itself.... A nasty, always hurt), and that it also wants to avenge itself.... A nasty, mean little desire to repay whoever has offended it in his own coin.....At last we come to the business itself, to the act of revenge. The unhappy mouse has already succeeded in piling up -- in the form of questions and doubts -- a large number of dirty tricks in addition to its original dirty trick; it has accumulated such a large number of insoluble questions round every one question that it is drowned in a sort of deadly brew, a stinking puddle made up of its own doubts, its own flurries of emotion.



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"Well, of course, all that is left for it to do is to scurry back ingloriously into its hole. There, in its stinking, disgusting subterranean hole, our hurt, ridiculed, and beaten mouse plunges into cold, venomous, and, above all, unremitting spite. For forty years it will continuously remember its injury to the last and most shameful detail, and will besides, add to it still more shameful details, worrying and exciting itself spitefully with the aid of its own imagination. It will be ashamed of its own fancies, and it will nevertheless remember everything, go over everything with the utmost care, think up all sorts of imaginary wrongs on the pretext that they, too, might have happened, and will forgive nothing.... Even on its deathbed it will remember everything with the interest accumulated during all that time."  
(From Notes from the Underground)

The best antidote for this negativism is activity. It is very seldom that one meets in and around our Party a comrade who is both cynical and negative, and also in contact with masses. Activity and exchange of ideas and collective thinking is a thinking person's absolute must. Without this, one decays and deteriorates. If you are one of those who sits and waits and sulks in a mist of negative cynicism you are so because you have been influenced by the ideology, by the propaganda of the capitalist class.

#### THE STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

The second general problem of our Party that I wish to say a few words on is the struggle on two fronts. It seems we have never really fully grasped the Leninist concept of the struggle on two fronts. Because of this we have had a tendency of swinging from one extreme to another, of over-correction. We have not always struggled

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against the same deviation. We have changed from one front to the other, and therefore have usually fought only one direction of deviation at a time.

For instance, if we look back at our history, we will see that we have spent altogether too much time in discussing in abstraction which is the main danger. But we have spent altogether too little time in discussing and debating incorrect ideas and propositions as they are projected in concrete fields of work. Our history also shows that we have countless cases of distortions of a correct policy. This in itself would be serious enough, but what makes these distortions more damaging is that it seems we have not always been able to reject the distortion without also rejecting and throwing out the healthy body with the distorted growth. And I think it is also true that we have been doing this while at the same time making speeches and writing articles against swinging, and against the idea of throwing out the baby with the bathwater.

Many of these distortions have come about because of the confusion between that which is tactical and the factors that go into tactical questions, and that which is strategic, basic and fundamental. During periods when our emphasis is against the Right danger, all tactical questions tend to be raised to the level of principle and during periods when the emphasis is against the Left danger, principles are generally brought down to a tactical level. We have not fully learned the lesson that while one of the other of the germs is active and weakening the Party, the opposite germ moves in.

Let us take a glance at some of these swings and distortions in the immediate past of our Party.

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First, let us turn our attention to the period up to the end of the Communist Political Association. Up to this point we were developing and growing into a mass party. We were becoming an important factor in the political life of our country. We were an important influence and an important element in the life of the trade unions. We were the pioneers in the molding of the Negro people's movement and the Negro-labor alliance-- and we were a very important influence in that movement.

Now let me read you a quotation from that period:

"Our nation has a history of several decades, a history which has its own characteristics and is full of treasures. The USA of today has developed from the USA of yesterday. As we are believers in the Marxist approach to history, we must not cut off our whole historical past. Marxism must be integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and given a national form before it can be put into practice. If the U.S. Communists talk about Communism apart from the American characteristics, that will be Marxism only in the abstract, Marxism in the void. Hence, how to turn Marxism into something specifically American becomes the problem."

If I were to ask any of you delegates here who wrote that, I'm afraid many would guess wrong. Actually that was a quotation from the writings of Mao Tse-tung, and I only inserted "USA" in place of "China." Now, is it not true, comrades that we were developing similar ideas, we were moving in the same direction, and that these were correct and positive thoughts to take? But then Browder took this correct base and twisted and distorted it into his theory of classless development, and into theories that become the apologies for American imperialism, theories that give characteristics to capitalism that that system could never possess.

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Wo we very correctly rejected this right-opportunist distortion. And the distortion had to be rejected in total. But now looking back, when we made these corrections, is it not a fact that we also threw out some of the very correct ideas and thoughts that literally and in every sense of the word had nothing to do with Browder's theories? For example, did we not become shy about developing some broader united front concepts? Did we not become timid about developing specific American forms to fit the American conditions? In other words, we threw out part of the healthy body with the unhealthy distortions of Browder.

So we entered the new period -- and here we should keep in mind that it was a period of slowly sharpening class antagonism, of the beginning of increasing war danger in the world, of the first signs of the McCarthyite reactionary drive and of many other such signals. I would say that in this period, we refused to recognize the new conditions and especially the element of retreat. And tactics are never more important than they are in periods of temporary retreat. So we began to raise factors and questions that should have been given tactical consideration to the level of principle. In the trade union field, these distortions showed themselves in demands and pressure for a third, Left, trade union federation as an answer to the growing difficulties the Left and progressive and Communist forces were having in united front relations in the trade union movement. Now, we must look back and ask ourselves: Were we correct in more or less insisting that the Communist in the trade unions make the endorsement of the Marshall Plan a condition or a principled question in our united front relations? And we must ask ourselves: Was it correct for us to put up the fight for the few Left unions to affiliate to the World Federation of Trade Unions? In other words, were not these developments distortions? Is it not obvious that when we put forward such policies, we did not take

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realistically into consideration the difficult period we were entering, and that we did not give enough tactical consideration to problems of retreat, and therefore were not in the best position to fight for the broadest and most flexible united front policy to meet that specific situation? Is it not clear that many of our distortions in that period flowed from tendencies towards dogmatism and doctrinairism? And is it not a fact that while the objective conditions themselves played a big role in our continued isolation, that these distortions themselves were also a big factor in this?

As things developed, it is quite obvious that there was a need to find ways of correcting this direction and of breaking out of our growing isolation. These corrections now go into what has become known as the "mainstream theory."

Let us ask the question: Was there anything basically wrong with raising the question of moving into the mainstream? Of course not. What was wrong was the distortion that developed and the swing from the correct base. The distortion took the form that you can only work in the mainstream if you liquidate your left and progressive base, including Left and progressive organizations. It is true that many Left-led organizations could not have existed through this whole period, but it was a distortion when this became a policy and we theorized about its correctness. To be in the mainstream without some Left or progressive base is like being up the creek without a paddle. Under such conditions you have to hitch your vehicle to that of somebody else. You necessarily will be buffeted about. You will be at the mercy of every other force. You can effectively work in the mainstream only if you have your own paddle, your own means of locomotion and your own wheelhouse. Under such conditions, even if you are forced to cross or by-pass a whirlpool where for a short period you have to go against

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the stream, you can make it on your own steam to the point where you can again take advantage of the mainstream flow.

I think we can now say that this distortion was followed with additional revisions and distortions until it finally flared up into the very serious revisionist swing around the 16th Convention and afterward.

We have now basically corrected this swing and these distortions. Our ship is on more or less even keel now and one of the big lessons of our history is: Let's keep it that way!

There are many other specific instances of distortions and swings in our work. Was there a need to take steps in relation to the questions of illegality and legality when the Mc Carthy reactionary drive was on? I don't think there is anybody in the Party that can deny that such steps were necessary. But here again we permitted a swing and a distortion, and many fantastic things took place in the name of the original correct policy.

And because of these mistakes, because of these distortions we are shying away now from very important questions that we simply must face up to even under the present-day conditions.

In the 1945 period the Party correctly took up the fight against the influence of white chauvinism. This was a correct and very important ideological struggle. But here again distortions took place and these actually became obstacles in the struggle against white chauvinism. And I think we must say again that we threw out the distortions, but we also discarded much of the correct and necessary struggle against white chauvinism. And we have not fully re-established this struggle to this day.

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We should ask ourselves: Why have these swings and distortions played such a prominent role in our past? Here we come back to the question of the struggle on two fronts. And this leads to the question: How does a Party check to determine whether the line and policy is correct or not? What is the yardstick? It certainly can't be that we only check with ourselves to see how nice it sounds in words or on paper. This is meaningless.

The only Leninist test of our policy or line is the test of life--how it helps to guide, lead and organize the masses in struggle. So it is obvious, when we face up to it, that a Party that suffers from isolation cannot be stable and cannot correctly fight on two fronts. The test at the bar of reality is the masses. From this it flows that amongst other things we must listen more carefully to those comrades who are at the point of testing, those comrades who are giving leadership to workers, the Negro people, the youth, women, etc.

As a matter of fact, the general rule of listening more is not a bad thing. We should heed the advice of the ancient philosopher who said, "Nature has given to men one tongue, but two ears, that we may hear from others twice as much as we speak."

There are many left-overs and influences of both germs--Right and "Left" opportunism. They are still a hindrance to the full unfolding of our Party's participation in the developing struggles of the American people. But they are germs that are under control and we will resist their penetration not as abstractions and in a vacuum, but as we struggle for the correct and proper vanguard role of our Party in life.

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LEARN TO APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM

Besides the weakness of not checking our policies against the realities of struggle, we must also admit self-critically that our work has not been anchored deeply enough in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

You have before you, comrades, a very important resolution on the Negro question. As you know, this is a very important shift in the basic and long-range approach of our Party to this question. I will not go into details because Comrade Lightfoot, I am sure, will expand and deepen our thoughts on this question. I would only like to say that I think the resolution in a much clearer and deeper way reflects the realities of the developing position and struggles of the Negro Americans. And because of this nature, realistic position our Party will be in a position to play a more decisive and influential role in this developing movement. I think this document helps to place the resolution of this bourgeois-democratic task in the very center of American life. It helps to strengthen the position that this is a task that all Americans, in the first place, the white workers in the trade union movement, must participate in and resolve in the most decisive manner. It helps to raise the key political and alliance strategically and tactically --the Negro-labor alliance -- to its necessary level. I think this resolution points to the growing maturity of our Party as a party that understands and knows how to apply the generalized science of Marxism-Leninism to specific situations.

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I am sure all of you have read the planted stories in the press during the last few days--stories of alleged



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intrigue, of a power struggle, of dumping and of rolling of head in our Party. These public actions of the press, as well as certain actions of the government, show that the American capitalist class has not given up its attempt to split and destroy our Party.

These attempts will be in vain. However, we need to be more vigilant than ever, more concerned about our unity than ever before.

We are not going to permit these voices of the enemy to disrupt our convention. We have a heavy schedule ahead for the next four days. Let us spend them as profitably as possible by keeping our eye on the ball. If we do, I have a feeling this 17th Convention will go down in history as the convention that made a decisive turn in the life of our Party.

I have a feeling that this will be the convention

- that put an end to all concepts of a holding operation;
- that set our Party solidly on the path of becoming a factor in the life of our people and above all our class;
- that puts a finis on all factionalism and on all one-sidedness, and a halt to all negativism.

This is a convention of a united party--of a party that is going places.

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JAMES JACKSON: In behalf of the Resolution Committee I want to make the following announcement: Before this session is over there should be distributed to all of the delegates, Part 1 and Part 2 of the main resolution which will embody the material of this phase of the discussion in our convention which has been so commendably open in Comrade GUS HALL's report and which will be further developed and elaborated in the report of Comrade LUMER. All of these reports are related, not only to the resolution as a whole but in a special way to the persons accepting the resolutions. Now a committee which was in session preparatory to this convention worked for the Resolutions Committee, was able to gather together most of the contributions that were ..... for the resolutions, and incorporated the main reports that were contained in the NEC, open to the membership bringing up to date the countless things on peace and disarmament and projecting it in the fore front of the resolution.

You will have this first section before you when Comrade HY LUMER concludes his remarks. I want to salute those Comrades on the subcommittee who worked on preparation of this phase, Comrade BETTY GANNETT and Comrade CLARENCE HATHAWAY, who did much work in trying to incorporate your contributions into this first section. The Resolutions Committee would request at the appropriate time that these comrades would continue to work as members of the Resolutions Committee to follow up on this track. (JACKSON at this point read greetings from the Italian CP).

"Our National Committee sends your 17th National Convention the cordial and fraternal greetings of two million ~~Italian Communists~~ as well as six million, seven hundred thousand voters (?) or workers (?) who want peace and greater democracy on the road to socialism. We salute the 40th anniversary of the Founding of the CP, USA, in a situation always difficult, in which you have maintained your partiality to the principles of Marxism-Leninism for the cause of the working class.

"We know that your 17th Convention will be to propose solutions to problems that have attracted the interest of the American people. We Italian Communists are well aware of the contributions made by the socialist world with the leadership of the USSR in the international field. In particular, we refer to popular support to the meeting of KHRUSHCHEV and EISENHOWER which has opened the prospect of disengagement and

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peaceful coexistence. We are certain as are you, that peaceful competition cannot but confirm the superiority of the Socialist System over that of Capitalism. For this alone, we shall redouble our efforts to comprehend the new reality, since our people are tired of the Cold War and want dissolution of international problems. Also because of the great possibilities of disarmament and peace; we salute the occasion of this visit of the President of the United States to Rome in the spirit of Camp David and shall help advance developments along that road.

For us the fight for peace is not separated from the struggle of democracy's socialists. It is for this that we send you warm best wishes and fraternal solidarity for your courageous action against discrimination and repression against the Communists of the United States which is a violation of all the democratic liberties of the people of each nationality and race. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism we wish you the best for your 17th Convention and for all the American Communists, we wish success in your struggles for world peace, for the advance of progress and liberty and for the greatest good for all the people of your land." Signed, Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

BEN DAVIS: Comrade FLO HALL has another greeting.

FLO HALL: "The Communist Party, USA; Dear Comrades, On behalf of the Communist Party, Czechoslovakia and all the (political?) working people we send the warmest fraternal greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA. Your party, faithful to the revolutionary mission of the working class despite heavy attacks from imperialist monopolies, is leading a determined struggle with many sacrifices for the interests of better work rights for the American worker and farmer and for the equality of the Negro people. We send our best wishes to the official (force) of your congress and wish the Communist Party, USA everything for the best in its struggle for peace and socialism. Long live the Communist Party, USA! Long live the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Long live the international revolutionary working class movement." Signed Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

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UNKNOWN INDIVIDUAL: The informant was unable to obtain complete details of statements made by this individual. Some of these statements which could be ascertained are as follows: Communist leaders say their Party is growing every day and is a unified Party. This is in sharp contrast to the CP at the time of the last convention in 1957 when the Hungarian Revolt split American Communist ranks into (warring factions?) There are some 220 delegates here. Officially they are to set policy and to elect leadership. There have been some reports that a change is due in the Communist leadership, that the (old?) line (led?) by Party Secretary EUGENE DENNIS are on the way out but spokesmen for the Communists ..... that DENNIS will remain but that new young blood will be added to the Communist leadership. The key spokesman for the Communists this year, so far, has been the mid-West leader, GUS HALL. He is a key figure in the Communist apparatus. He served eight years in prison on a Smith Act conviction and was let out two years ago. HALL spoke to newsmen today at a news conference and then he spoke for the CBS television camera.

EARL DURHAM: Comrades, the next point on our agenda - a report on peace and disarmament by Comrade HY.

HY LUMER: Mr. Chairman, Comrades, my report deals specifically with the question of disarmament and the American economy. One of the most far reaching consequences of the KHRUSHCHEV visit to our shores is the impetus it has given to the demand for disarmament, not only in this country, but throughout the world. His dramatic proposal for full universal disarmament in ..... years made in a speech before the United Nations has especially contributed to raising the issue of ending the arms race to one of the very first rank.

In this country disarmament has become a subject of most intent interest and discussion on all sides, not as an ideal whose realization is delegated to the remote future, but as well within actual reach. Today (conservative?) business publications discuss in all seriousness the prospects of cuts in military expenditures of 50 per cent within a single year and devote much space to probing the consequences. In the pages of our daily newspaper, leading economists write about the subject. Everywhere the question is being asked: "What will be the effect of full disarmament. Will it bring depression and mass unemployment?" What prompted this question was the fact since World War II, military expenditures have become a very important factor in our economy. In 1939, they

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were less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the national product. At the lowest point after the War, in 1947, they were nearly 5 per cent of a considerably larger product. During the Korean War they rose to 15 per cent and since then they have remained at about 10 per cent of everything produced in this country. Seven to eight per cent of the working force is directly employed in military production and if we add in those who are indirectly employed or affected, it comes to about 15 per cent.

On a world scale today, arms expenditures total about 100 billion dollars. Of this, the American outlay totals over 40 billion or nearly a half. Moreover, for a number of years the United States has been exporting arms to other countries to the tune of several billion dollars worth a year. Truly, we have for some time been living under a permanent war economy and what has been aptly termed "a garrison state." Whole communities have become economically dependent upon arms industries. The 40 odd billion a year spent on arms could (be widely viewed?) as a necessary prop to the economy as some sort of protection against economic crisis.

The American workers have generally come to look upon arms production as a guarantee of jobs. What it is, of course, in reality, is none of these things. The American people have been made the victims of a hoax. Military expenditure is a form of state monopoly capitalism. That is, using the financial resources of the government to protect and augment monopoly (property?) with the working people footing the bill. In other words, it is a way of using state apparatus to increase the ..... It is the most preferable form of state monopoly capitalism for big business. Its desirability to them lies first in the fact that it provides a guaranteed market which is also an extremely profitable one, as a rule much more profitable than any form of civilian production. Thus in 1957 the profit on invested capital of the 500 biggest companies

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averaged about 11.4 per cent, but among the 12 biggest recipients of military contracts it ranged from 13 per cent to 21 per cent. If we take into account that the biggest of these, the aircraft companies, have had much of their (elaborate?) equipment built by the government and turned over to them to be used without their investing anything, the profit on what they themselves invested has grown to well over 100 per cent in a single year. They have more than doubled their outlay .....

Secondly, the products of war economy offer no competition with production with the civilian market. Third, since the basis presented for arms production is an alleged need to defend the economy against aggression, workers can be induced, if they accept that, to sacrifice more, say in the form of higher taxes to a degree which they would not readily do for other purposes. Finally, war production dovetails with monopoly capitalism's aggressive tendency and aims and the atmosphere of (DULLES' ?) theory, which is a necessary justification for military in the economy and is one conducive to .....

Military expenditures have become the chief form of state monopoly capitalist operation comprising well over one half of the total federal budget. Economically, the significance of these military expenditures lies in their ..... wastefulness. They are as wasteful as if the goods were simply dumped into the ocean or if the economy was put to work digging holes and then filling them up. Consequently, they serve the capitalist class exceptionally well as a means of destroying the economic surplus which capitalism constantly generates. In an economic crisis of surplus ..... its markets are destroyed at the expense of capitalists themselves. In military production the same thing is accomplished with profit to the capitalists and at the expense of the workers. What is wasted had to be paid for by someone. The money that the government

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spends is taxational borrowing. Either way its share of ..... purchasing power is appropriated by the government and then redistributed through military expenditures. On the profits, the workers invariably come out on the short end. They pay a disproportionate share of the heavy and growing burden of taxes. Today a much higher share of personal income taxes comes from the working groups than before the war. Today the average worker pays out a third of his earning capacity.

As to government borrowing, it is chiefly the big corporations, the banks and the insurance companies that buy the government bonds and collect the 8 or 9 billion a year in interest on them. It is the working people that pay the main share of that interest, which amounts to more than ten cents of every federal tax dollar. Furthermore, since it destroys part of the national wealth the money spent on arms maintains a given level of demand. The government, instead of borrowing from the existing supply of money, finances its operation by (printing additional money?).....

Since 1946, consumer prices in this country have risen by 48 per cent. The working people pay not alone in high prices and high taxes. They pay heavily in terms of social service for which the money spent on arms could have been used. This was dramatically expressed by none other than President EISENHOWER himself in a speech delivered in 1953. He said "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signified in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and who are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone .....it is spent in ..... of its scientists ..... The cost of one modern heavy bomber is (equivalent to?) that of a modern equipped school, two electric power plants each serving a town of 60,000 population, two fine fully equipped hospitals, some 50 miles of concrete highway. We pay for a single destroyer with two (halls?) that could have housed more than 8,000 people." I think it would be well to remind the President sometimes of these words of his.

More recently the effect of the arms economy has been shown and a study presented by the AFL - CIO publication, "Labor's Economic Review". In a recent report prepared under the direction of General J.S. PERSONS (phonetic), Special Assistant to the President,

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he is quoted as saying, "In almost every field of public works, in hospitals, schools, civic centers, recreational facilities, key shortages are the rule, not the exception. In almost every category we are falling farther and farther behind in meeting the ....."

The study shows that whereas 100,000 classrooms a year are needed, only 60 or 70 thousand are being built. Of the estimated need for public school construction, about four billion dollars a year, only three billion is being spent. Add to this the need of funds to increase salaries enough to attract competent teachers and end the shortage or to offer scholarships to enable the 90,000 young people to attend college who cannot now afford it.

We need two million housing units a year. Only a little over one million are being built. We need more than one million two <sup>hundred</sup> thousand hospital beds a year - only a half of this number are provided for .... and so on. The study itself (added?) that somehow it was worth mentioning the fact that it is because of the ..... of military spending that we cannot afford these things and that the money now being thrown away on instruments of destruction would more than cover the cost of these social needs which are not now being provided .....

Large scale war production provided an outlet for capital which because of limited (margin or markets?) cannot be so profitably invested in civilian production. In this way any decline in capital investments can be temporarily arrested but once the given level of military production is reached this shot in the arm effect wears off, and increased outlays are required to revive it. In addition though it may temporarily keep the economy in a state of boom it does so only by ..... Large scale military outlays of the post-war years have not sufficed to prevent the outbreak of (economic crisis?) and a rising level of unemployment. They have resulted in the



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persistence of a huge national debt as high as (was attained?) at the end of the war which created difficulties in further borrowing and greatly reduces the margin of safety. The United States today, in fact, has the highest per capita debt in the world as far as the stimulus of arms spending, one which cannot be produced for better from the viewpoint of the working people in other ways.

If the money is actually spent on arms rather than other things, the basic reason is political. An arms economy grows out of the Cold War, out of the aggressive designs of Wall Street. To change it, therefore, requires a political struggle on the part of the workers for such a change ..... Finally, war economy is ultimately inseparable from war. It can be ..... stated only on the grounds that war threatens. As JOHN FOSTER DULLES once said in a book written a good many years ago, "In order to ..... a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military shipments, it is necessary to create an emotional state in war psychology. There must be the portrayal of an external menace. The more it grows the more the war economy itself enhances the danger of war breaking out." What would be the actual effect of a big reduction in arms spending? Wonder if the 40 odd billions now devoted to this purpose would be cut off - say within the next year? Would the bottom fall out of the economy? Some argue that it would - they visualize several million now engaged in arms production being thrown out of work with nearly three million more being released from the Armed Forces to flood the labor market. This .... the number of jobs at 15 million or well over 20 per cent of the labor force.

Generally, the big business interests view any drop in arms spending with alarm as a harbinger of economic decline. The peace jitters of Wall Street with every development towards world peace, however slight, are a familiar phenomenon. Today, however, some are taking a different view of the matter basing themselves

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on the possibility of very steep tax cuts .....

This is stated in an article in "Nation's Business", a publication of the US Chamber of Commerce which says, "Any abrupt dropping of Cold War pressure when it comes can bring this country a boom not to be suggested by such phrases as peace scares." As we shall see there is no basis for a prediction that disarmament will produce the automatic boom to the dire forbodings, on the other hand, are equally unwarranted. They fail to take the entire picture into account - including the various possible counter active measures. History shows that a sharp drop in arms expenditures need not result in a major crisis. To be sure, the War of 1812, the Civil War and World War II were followed by depressions of varying intensity, but World War II was not, contrary to widespread expectations and predictions based on previous experience. Here ..... during the war, a large backlog of demand both for capital and consumer goods was built up. This together with certain other consequences of war led to a period of rising national income followed by nothing more severe than the relatively mild 1948 - 1949 crisis.

This took place despite the drop of 77 billion dollars or 87 per cent in arms expenditures from 1944 - 1947. It is, therefore, dangerous to (generalize?) Each situation must be judged in the light of existing circumstances. A sharp decline in military expenditures today would find not a backlog of purchases in demand but excess ..... already existing in certain business and some five per cent or more of the labor forces already unemployed.

On the other hand ..... arms expenditures would not be nearly so great, but the important thing is that such a drop would also lay the basis for important offsetting effects. The effects of a highly beneficial character, made possible by the freeing of the economic sums now spent on armaments. First of all it would make possible

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special tax cuts which would considerably raise consumer purchasing power. If the present arms budget were reduced to half, not over about 23 billion, and half of this in turn were to be allocated for cuts in federal income taxes, it would reduce the total of these by nearly 20 per cent.

If the cut were allocated to personal income taxes and particularly to those in the low income groups, it would be possible to free millions of workers today from any payment of income tax and the withholding tax that they now pay. This will produce a substantial growth of production and employment in consumer goods industries, and help to absorb some of the men and women released from the Armed Forces. Second, the (funds?) could be used for productive purposes, education, health, housing, old age benefits and so on, which would also serve for a ..... standard of mass purchasing power and would provide jobs as well. In fact, the 46 billion dollars a year now going down the drain would be enough in the (nature of?) a good size tax cut to provide all of the unfilled social needs we've outlined above.

Third, the money now used to ship armaments abroad as military aid could be used for genuine economic assistance in undeveloped countries in the form of long term credits at low interest for the purpose of industrialization. This would raise living standards in those countries and would (create) greatly enlarged markets for American exports.

Fourth, the easing of war tensions, world tensions, which is the basis for disarmament, would likewise open the doors to many of the embargoes on trade with the socialist world. Certainly, with disarmament, there can be sensible argument that we should refuse to sell goods to the Soviet Union or other socialist countries because they might be used against us.

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Potential (benefit?) of such trade large enough to make it a factor of major importance in the American economy. In the past, American exports to the Soviet Union were barely three and one half million dollars and would be sent in one ship. Consider that the Soviet population is equal in size to Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands combined and if you were to export to it on the same basis as we now do to these five countries, the total value would be no less than three billion dollars a year, a figure which, incidentally, has also been presented in estimate by CYRUS EATON.

If trade were to be opened up to its full potential, it would be far more than that. If we add to this the potential volume of trade with China and Eastern European countries, the present volume of American exports would be increased by at least a third, a figure that would provide a huge number of additional jobs in this country. Summarizing these points in his speech to the UN, KHRUSHCHEV concluded that "the claim that disarmament would bring on a crisis or economic recession of the highly developed countries of the capitalist world, are accordingly unfounded." This is true, but by the same token we should bear in mind that neither will disarmament eliminate crisis anymore than an arms economy would.

The source of the boom-bust cycle lies much deeper in capitalist economies and neither armament nor disarmament is a panacea against it.

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Certainly there is no assurance that disarmament will automatically ..... to a business expense. With considerable excess production capacity now existing it would take a big jump in consumer goods spending indeed to stimulate new investments to any serious degree. Moreover, there is nothing automatic about the extent to which consumer purchasing power will be increased, nor about the realization of the beneficial effects of disarmament generally by the working people. It is their ability to accommodate themselves to the growing prospects of peace and consequently a growing inability to maintain a large economy to bolster their problems the monopolies will seek by other means the protection at the expense of the people. If there is to be a tax cut they won't strike to make sure that it is they who get the tax cut.

If government funds care to be spent for purchases other than arms they will demand ... so they will be spent, so as to benefit big business. A favorite of theirs for instance is road building which is highly profitable in the construction end and nowadays with the toll roads also in operation. And they will fight tooth and nail against government spending for low cost housing, for power projects as encroaching on the sacred domain of private enterprise. At the same time they will call upon the workers to sacrifice and work harder and to give up the thirty hour week in the name of being a so-called Soviet economic threat.

The working people can benefit from disarmament therefore only to the extent that they are successful in fighting ..... Of course in some areas where more industries are predominant especially where large aircraft plants are to be a source of jobs, disarmament would create problems of unemployment. In many of these

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cases like the electronics industry or atomic energy the product can be used directly for peaceful purposes given an expansion of civilian ..... but other industries like aircraft would either have to .... work or drastically curtail operations. For the workers in some areas, there would be serious difficulty. But these are not new. Such problems already exist as a consequence of the decline in industries like coal mining, as a result of decentralization of plants which have given ..... to repressed areas marked by chronic unemployment, areas whose numbers are growing even with large scale military spending.

Furthermore, employment in certain more key industries is falling despite the rising arms budgets. For example, the growing rate given to missile production, a experimental pilot production which is worth many dollars with few production workers has meant a drop in workers in conventional (or professional) aircraft and employment in the aircraft industry. Since the last quarter of 1956 for example, employment in that industry has fallen by 117 thousand or nearly 14 percent. These situations require a program of government assistance for the rehabilitation of industry, public works, as well as increased unemployment compensation, debt and mortgage moratoriums, job retraining, assistance in relocation and other measures designed to aid the workers, affected and their families. Such a program is needed now and advocated by organized labor today. With

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disarmament it could be much more readily carried out since some of the money saved on arms could be used for the purpose. Certainly these problems could be no less capable of a solution on a peacetime economy than on a wartime economy to the extent that they can be solved at all in a capitalist economy.

Problems would also be created by the sudden addition of the civilian labor force of some three million men and women released from the Armed Forces. Here the payment of unemployment benefits along the lines of the familiar 52 - 20 payments after World War II would help to carry and meet the situation. Not least, special measures are needed to aid the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican - American workers, who being generally the last hired, the first fired, would be subjected to special hardships in the process of such changes. All of these things will not happen without struggle. In short, disarmament will not abolish the contradictions of capitalism, it will not remedy the growing instability of the capitalist system and the growing ..... of American ..... will not do away with class struggle. It will certainly not in itself bring about a utopia in which jobs and prosperity are guaranteed. However, this in no way guarantees and it is an orderless impact on the American working people.

Disarmament will remove the principal obstacles, the reduction of taxes and improvement in the social welfare. With that the increase in possibilities of major social and economic advances and realizing in some measure the tremendous promise that is afforded by modern science and technology. If we add to this the incalculable blessing of living in freedom from fear of nuclear war as well as the eradication of the reactionary atmosphere, the war hysteria, the elimination of depression,

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the cold war years, there can be no doubt that whatever profit an armed economy may mean to big business, working people are infinitely better off without it. But it is not only the benefits of disarmament that must be fought for.

Though disarmament is a central issue, the fight for achievement still lies ahead. Even the initial steps have yet to be won. For the past several years, arms expenditures have been rising and since 1955 they have gone up about one and a half billion dollars a year. And this in the face of repeated declarations by EISENHOWER that military expenditures were going to be held down. At the same time there has been extensive pressure for greater increases. The ROCKEFELLER report, issued last year, calls for increases of three billion dollars a year. Other proposals call for increases as high as up to 75 billion dollars a year be spent on arms. In this hopped up climate party leadership is drawing. In mid-1959 the advisory council of the Democratic National Committee urged a program adding up to three billion dollars more a year. The top labor leadership has raised the second question, that is repeatedly charged the EISENHOWER Administration with sacrificing the country's defense. So have liberal economists like LEON KAISER. Nor have these pressures lessened since the KHRUSHCHEV visit. The position of Democratic Party spokesmen, the labor leadership and the liberal economist remains essentially unchanged so far. Certainly no statements to the contrary have appeared. So it is that of NELSON ROCKEFELLER and other representatives of important monopoly circles.



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LUMER (Continued)

The administration itself has .... defense departments only recently, a matter that EISENHOWER raised his request for foreign military aid in the budget from 1.3 to two billion dollars. The EISENHOWER proposals on the other hand call not for cuts in military spending but only keeping them at present levels, and this is little more than propaganda looking for the 1960 elections. As JAMES RESTON stated in "The New York Times" quote The administration has embarked on a 'peace program! It has not wanted to go on side with increased military expenditures. It is talking disarmament. It wants to go into the 1960 presidential political campaign as a party of both peace and fiscal responsibility. Generally the argument against disarmament of any serious kind continues to be regarded as something totally unreal. The recent expression of whether the prevailing great business fuel was given by the president of the Westinghouse Corporation, MARK W. CRESAP, JR. He said, A stable, long range continuing defense program is preparation for peace. It is essential for our survival. We need a stable and continuing military program because in the years and decades ahead we Americans are going to be faced with roughest kind of competition from people of demonstrated caliber and accomplishment. In this competition there is no second choice and no margin for error.

In short, the roads to peace continues to be viewed as allying and arching ourselves to the peaceworthy indefinite future. New York Times' writer HANSON BALDWIN frankly regards disarmament as pie in the sky. He says that the agreements so far lie largely in the realm of semantics and of pious hopes and the

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LUMER (Continued)

disagreements are a fundamental .... to the forces. Despite all fifteen years of effort there has been no progress in the limitation of arms much less universal disarmament. It goes on to say that Mr. KHRUSHCHEV's glittering role, goal of universal and complete disarmament is a mirage, a psychological coma. Truly the cold war dies hard. Just as there are no serious moves for reduction of arms, so there is no sign of easing the restrictions on trade. A bid with schringer (ph) KHRUSHCHEV made last summer for a purchase of one hundred million dollars worth of machinery and equipment was turned down by EISENHOWER. After the KHRUSHCHEV visit, when he repeated the offer it was again turned down.

More recently, a bid for several million dollars worth of ..... stainless steel was turned down as well as offers to buy large quantities of chemicals. Here to the cold war of ..... prevails when they played for the restoration of trade while the ..... for disarmament has yet to be won. If any real advance is to be made in the direction of disarmament therefore the extensive sentiment for it among the American people must find organized expression reflecting the broadest ..... of all out peace in the end to the arms race. Above all the leadership or organized labor must be brought to abandon its present suicidal course of aggressive promotion of cold war policies and repeated to ask for bigger purchases. At the same time it is necessary to expose the hoax so long perpetrated on American workers that higher production is the answer to unemployment. That the lost fight for economical ..... is the arms ..... Of primary importance is the lifting of the embargo on trade

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LUMER (continued)

with the socialist countries and the widest expansion of such trade. It is also essential to project now a program calling for tax reductions for those in the low income brackets, plans for a vast expansion of social welfare expenses, national measures to protect the economic welfare of those who subjected to the loss of jobs and income in the process of reducing arms reduction and especially of the Negro - Puerto Rican and Mexican - American workers.

Finally it is necessary to project the perspective of an economy of total disarmament. An economy directed for the realization of the vast potential which peace and disarmament would make possible. To be sure of the full realization of this potential requires more than we had in the report, it requires the victory of the socialists. But the fight for peace and total disarmament can lead to very substantial improvements for the lot of the working class. And to grant this proposal for universal disarmament the state support ... opened up when KHRUSHCHEV, in his United Nations Speech, offered .... over which to fight, and in such a fight we communists must be found in the very front ranks.

DURHAM: Well, we have come to the moment that you have been waiting for. Floor is open for discussion.

(UNKNOWN MALE from floor is recognized) (From California)

UNKNOWN MALE FROM CALIFORNIA: I would like to ask a question. Is GUS HALL's speech going to made available to us?

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(General interruption from floor)

UNKNOWN MALE FROM CALIFORNIA: I would like to make a motion to the effect that GUS HALL's speech be made available to us before the adjournment of this convention. (The motion is seconded from someone else on the floor).

DURHAM: Discussion is not open, we have a motion before us that we have to decide what to do with. (In answer as to what motion is before convention). The motion is that Comrade GUS HALL's report be made available to the delegates. Is there a second to that? (seconded from the floor). Further discussion on that motion? (DURHAM is advised from the floor that motion should contain clause stating that HALL's speech be made available before the convention is over). I'm sorry, the Chair stands corrected. The report will be made available before the convention is over. Is there a second to that motion? (seconded). Are we clear on the motion? All those in favor signify by raising your delegate cards. All those opposed. So ordered. The floor is opened for general discussion on the reports. (DURHAM explains that you will get 7 minutes to speak; at five minutes you will get one bang of the gavel; 2½ minutes later I will stand up and stand next to you; and at 7 minutes you will leave the platform). Comrades will please raise your hands, you will be picked out in order in appearance from the Chair.

Comrade MILFORD (SUTHERLAND): (Comrade MILFORD from Washington State then comments on last convention being for three days). I wish to address myself especially to -- how is this, can you hear me? (floor answers in affirmative). I wish to address particularly to GUS HALL's remarks here since they deal with the general area of the main resolution and the perspective of it that we are concerned with in particular. Overall I want

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MILFORD Cont'd:

to express a real deep agreement with those perspectives, the broad and challenging goals and the possibilities for our party in this period. This is the kind of perspective that we need and it represented a contrast with the general weaknesses and inadequacy of the draft resolution. It represents the kind of a challenge, a kind of direction that will take our party forward. This is the main point that I want to make overall.

Now, one particular point with reservation on the overall perspective that I want to mention in my limited time. Referring to the 16th Convention and the confusions of that convention that GUS named, I think that it would have been helpful if GUS had made more of a distinction between the confusion of the leadership and the fact that the membership was not quite so confused and the fact that it was the membership that fought for and defended the Party and saved it in the face of considerable work of revisionists, the strength of revisionist forces in the Party.

And I want to illustrate that lack of confusion of the membership in quoting from a discussion article in the Party Voice at the time and prior to the 16th Convention. The discussion article that came from Washington State that does not .. that represents the leadership listening to the membership and what the membership was feeling and thinking about that time. Just to quote briefly from it: "Thus we are now in a new stage of world history. The ..... of the past have brought us to the point where the forces exist to win brand new popular victory. Two aspired goals are on the order of the day. Imperialism is sufficiently isolated so that the law of inevitability of war can be replaced by the law of peace, that is the conscious turning of the war victors by the world peace forces. The national liberation movements are sufficiently strong to break the remaining shackles of national and colonial oppression throughout the world. The Negro people can win

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their freedom. The popular forces are sufficiently strong to remove the crushing burden of armament and turn the productive resources thus released to a vast increase of the material well being of mankind. They could win further increases in man's well being by turning atomic energy and other scientific and technological advances into avenues of peaceful production. The democratic forces have gained such strength that they could win great new advances in the fundamental civil rights of every human being. Women can make a qualitative advance in ending their centuries long oppression. Youth can free itself from being the special victim of the reactionary forces of society and win a new dignity and standing."

I only quote a part of it to express the spirit of it and to say that this was what the membership was fighting for in that period and that in making this point I'm not trying here to raise the question of a division of leadership and membership. But as a matter of fact I think one of the reasons that we in Washington were able to ... and reflect some of this spirit at that time was the fact that we attended a ..... of the national in overcoming some of our internal problems, some of our best turns, in particular and it prepared us to resist the oppressor of the right more effectively. And I think that helped us to have perspective in that period. And so we are only bringing back to the convention here the lessons that the national helped to bring to us at that time.

Second point that I would like to make that in the general fundamental situation that GUS raised, the new situation; agreeing with it overall but wanting to add in particular at this point an additional factor in the new and developing one of the really fundamental new factors in the situation today. And in this let me quote a paragraph

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MILRO Cont'd:

from our state resolution on the national resolution. We're speaking of the fundamental turning point that has two aspects. On the world scale the fundamental change in the relationship of forces that tip it on the side of the forces of peace and democracy and progress; and then secondly, and this is the additional point that I think needs emphasizing particularly if you are going to apply the point that Comrade GUS made. that our job is to combine Marxism-Leninism with a specific situation in the United States. Our point is this, for the United States this turning point consists of the fact that the long and continuous history of expansion of American capitalism, from its birth to its present far flung empire, has basically come to an end. That American imperialism is now beginning its decline. That from now on the internal contradictions can no longer be covered over by external expansion but must come to the fore and rapidly ..... From now on the waning strength of monopoly capital, the rising strength of the working class, the Negro people and the popular forces generally, sets the main frameup for America's future.

I think this question of a fundamental turning point in America's history, from all of its past to its future, meets the plain .... squarely and singles out in terms of complications to every question that we deal with whether it is the trade union question, the role of opportunism for example. This change is to apply just to that one point. It means that because of that change the ruling class which has for so long been able to buy off a large section of the working class is able no longer to do that. But the material base of this opportunism is rapidly disappearing. The rug is being sold out from under the special .... the ideology of the ruling class to give it back to the working class and .... this basis that we don't want to anticipate has gone too fast but on the basis of this we must apply it and see its implications in every single thing we do. Now in terms of my time, can I...

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ENMAIE: ~~Comrade~~ over.

MILFORD: Oh, I'm terribly sorry. I wanted to talk on the youth question. A whole paragraph on it.

DURHAM: There is no other way you stick to limit, you stick to the limit. I know that kinda disrupted his thoughts but there are a lot of people here and time is short. Comrade ARTIE from New York.....

COMRADE ARTIE (LNU) FROM NEW YORK: Well comrades, I just wanted to say that Comrade GUS HALL's report was a very good report, fighting report and analyzed scientifically one of the weaknesses or the weaknesses of the Party of the past. That is swinging from one side to the other. I think also that Comrade HALL's report was good because it was the same kind of a fighting report and a report with direction like Comrade DAVIS gave at the New York State Convention which was supported unanimously by the delegates of the New York State Convention. This brings to mind also something Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said in Hungary recently at the Hungarian Congress that the trouble in Hungary as defined rested mainly with the bureaucratic leadership, armchair leadership, as he put it, in the Hungarian Party. And he also said that the 20th Congress was infected in all of the parties of the world. He said that some comrades say that he could have done a little dicker, that he didn't have to be so harsh or according to the world so strongly. But he added that there was no other way, Comrades, that this had to be done and that this had to be done and that the house cleaning had to be accomplished, and this was accomplished in the Soviet Union, he said, and thereby strengthening our Party organ in the Soviet Union. So I think that this sense Comrade DAVIS' report from the New York State Convention and Comrade HALL's report to this convention is a house cleaning and it shows a way to action and to the further strengthening and building of the Party. And also the recognition of the Party's responsibility to liberation



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ARTIE (INU) Cont'd:

movement particularly in South America.

I work with comrades that told me that at the time of Guatemala when US imperialism instituted a counter-revolution against the peoples government of Guatemala that there was a demonstration called to protest the situation in Guatemala, and a handful of comrades came down for this demonstration. This was the effect of revisionism in our Party and in New York this was in particular. I think that we got rid of most of the revisionists, and we are starting on the path of recognizing our responsibility to the Latin American people and in the future according to the resolutions of the past New York State that we will do a job, a militant job, in defending the rights of the people of South America and the rights of the Communist Party and the rights of those people to have independence from the United States just as we got our independence from Great Britain.

There are two points that I would like to take up to make a report in ARNOLD's report on the question of peace, and one is trade with the Soviet. He says that it cannot be argued that if we trade with or if we have trade with the Soviets that this can be used against us. Now do the workers look at this question? It is unfortunate that right now the workers look at the question of peace not the way we do, because they see or they think that many cases that their jobs will be affected permanently or immediately by partial or total disarmament. Now we have to answer the question of trade and how it will benefit us to the satisfaction of the workers. Now if we don't do this we won't do a job. And we are not explaining to the workers our program and a way out of the war situation. And I think a way to explain it is this: that when we trade with the Soviet Union and help to build up the economy of the Soviet Union that we are helping ourselves because every advance that the Soviet Union

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ARTIE (LNU) Cont'd:

makes the whole world benefits from.

There was an article in the "New York Times" not long ago about the fact that the Soviet Union is producing an automatic plant 16 inch lathe which they are selling on the world market for \$3500. A similar American lathe, the same specifications, sells for \$10,000. This is a good example of how Socialism can prove that they can undersell the capitalist system, and bring commodities to the American people at a lower price than our own capitalist would be willing to sell for, like cars. When the Soviet Union starts automatically producing cars it is possible that they can sell to the American worker cheaper than the capitalist of America can sell it to the American worker. And other products. So that a definite answer has to be given in relation to this question.

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RALPH (IZARD?) from Northern California. Comrade HALL (spoke of?) the cold war and anti-communist campaigns but one aspect of this campaign was to freeze social developments all over the world to protect American capital. It was for this purpose that some 500..... were established in Europe. It was for this purpose that 250,000 American troops are in Europe and Asia today.

In Japan there are numerous large American corporations such as United States Rubber Corporation. I can go on naming them as I have the list here. In the Phillipine Islands the situation is dominated as, we know, by American capital, through dummy fronts. In England they say that 25 per cent of all investment capital is United States capital. There are similar high investments in France and Italy by United States capital. It's nothing for a corporation to earn 100 per cent per year on its invested capital. Believe me, it's nothing. The problem facing us is how to lick this situation.

Obviously, the social situation as far as.....is concerned is made more difficult in all these countries I have named because of the presence of American troops, because of the presence of United States property, because of all these things which exert a pressure on all political life of these countries. It seems to me that our demand must be that United States troops be called home from wherever they are in the world because their role is simply that of perpetuating the role of United States capitalists. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN DURHAM: Comrade HELEN to be followed by Comrade ESTHER from New York.

HELEN (NELSON): This speaker who was from the State of Washington read a report on COPE (Committee

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on Political Education) in Washington and in general she highlighted the role of women. She called for a Marxist-Leninist recognition of women within and without of the labor movement as a force (to achieve peace).

CHAIRMAN DURHAM: Comrade ESTHER followed by Comrade PAUL.

ESTHER (UNGER): Comrades, first I want to say that everyone in the New York delegation as well as (all states) - we are so happy at the kind of convention we are having as compared to the last time and it is a pleasure to be part of a Communist Party which is discussing not whether it should exist, but what its role and duties are in relation to the American working class of people.

Comrade HALL's report was very inspiring. It gave a fresh, clear approach and each of us tends to (summarize) as to what really strikes you..... Now it seems to me some things are not clear to me and I don't say that I have the answers but I don't quite see that we've come to rock bottom on the estimate of the struggle for peace. It is a (difficult?) problem. Everyone says so. I don't think the problem is to avoid.....by saying that the cold war isn't over because I think that all of us have to admit that peace is the biggest single problem for us and therefore the emphasis is (disarmament?) and that the issue of the struggle is peaceful co-existence and the.....of the struggle was initially weak in the Draft Resolution and continues to be weak in the letter of the NEC, so that the question of emphasis becomes imperative because we recognize this as the central question.

Obviously, we can't mean that an anti-monopoly coalition is a condition for the struggle of peaceful co-existence because obviously we are in a stage of a struggle for peaceful co-existence right now without.....monopoly. It seems to me that obviously in order to achieve this..... (Unwcmman from audience breaks in and says, "But this has nothing to do with the working class struggle") Anti-monopoly- doesn't this mean anything to the working class? But working class to you is a more precise definition of the stage we

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are in.....for example.....and therefore we are in a new relationship fo forces..... The broadest struggle today for peaceful coexistence is the order of the day and to confuse this with anti-monopoly doesn't give us a clear picture of the stage of the struggle today.

Second, on the American tradition - it was a wonderful thing to discuss the American tradition and not to have it loused up with revisionism because obviously we got to discuss it. Here too it seems to me we've got a long way to go. The Negro people today are in the forefront of the struggle for enforcing and administering the best in the American tradition. The right to vote movement and the fight to bring about the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments - I think we have to analyze our relationship, not only the struggle for American democracy today, but also the relationship to the first amendment and the right to advocate Social change.....

In my opinion there have been serious weaknesses in the Party-s defense of the first amendment in the fight, in the right to advocate social change and, if anything, the Party must have the ability to.....with members and to the people on how it seeks to overcome the violation of American tradition. 345.

There has been an inadequacy of leadership and the measure of testing the foreign policy which Comrade DULLES introduced must also be the measure of testing leadership, and it seems to me if all the conventions attended are accurate, there has to be a separate discussion of leadership to measure the need for overcoming weaknesses.

Finally, on the Negro Resolution - My own approach is that Comrade GUS HALL is very charitable to that resolution because there was so much discussion about it, so much debate and he, himself, points out that (the racial question?) is the.....of the work for a democratic resolution, which the resolution does not state.....

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If I can judge by all the resolutions I read at the New York Convention, it cannot be done on the basis of a general endorsement of that resolution which for myself I found inadequate as to the New York State Convention.

[REDACTED] A point of two I want to deal briefly with some things from the main resolution. But very much I want to begin by saying that the direction, the outlook of Comrade GUS' report was turning the Party toward the mass movement work, influencing masses of people.....is the decisive thing. Not only that, the measure-how you measure the Party mind and its leadership, the degree to which it influences masses, the degree to which it is able to determine the direction of the struggle-It's the measure of the Party's vanguard role.....

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Now, there is great contrast between the outlook of Comrade GUS' report and both main draft resolutions and I think it would be remiss not to point out that difference and discuss somewhat the reasons for it. There have been many amendments and changes to these resolutions, because they did not reflect in their initial form a clear definition of what the situation was.....and how do we develop the basis for a mass line and a concrete program of action. My own feeling is that there are some basic reasons for this, one of those Comrade GUS dealt with extensively in a recognition of the changed relationship of forces (?), the contradictions that are sharpened within American monopoly capitalism contradictions reflecting themselves in concrete ways within the United Nations. A look at the United Nations today as compared to six months ago, a year ago, is a clear indication of a contradiction. But between the NATO nations - colonial nations on the one hand and non-colonial nations voting with the newly independent countries and, in some cases with the countries of socialism.....

Therefore, it is not enough to say the cold war is not over and it is not even enough to say that the change

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in direction on the part of this government can be determined only by the American people... It is true that the American people.....reached a new level and indeed this .....is decisive, but the impact on the American people of the power of the Soviet forces, Sputnik, the KHRUSHCHEV visit, the impact on the American people of a rising country, the colonial countries, etc., is decisive too. So that our perspective of short range.....the ability of consolidating the gains that have been won and actually winning a situation where peaceful coexistence is possible today. That is tremendous. That was not sufficiently recognized, but I think that has to be emphasized, so that we are not, our vision is not blurred.

Secondly, there is a threat which, in my opinion, runs through both resolutions. Confusion of this anti-monopoly coalition, and it's not an accident, because this anti-monopoly coalition was projected at our last convention. It got lost, perhaps, in the shuffle, but if one reads the proceedings of that convention, it runs through everything. The way it was placed in the original resolution tends to confuse the aim of an anti-monopoly coalition, with the tactic of right now, and many of the changes of the draft resolution and particularly of the Negro resolution have to do with trying to remove the confusion of placing anti-monopoly coalition as a precondition or indeed as an immediate tactic in the Negro peoples' movement, in the labor movement. The labor movement must be in the fight for peace, leading to, posing almost abstract tasks, because, in some cases, the condition for political realignment, even an outlook for the 1960 elections for the Negro people was tied integrally to the concept of building an anti-monopoly coalition.....

It was hard to recognize the fact that the Negro people today are more conscious than any other section of the population that the advance of their rights is intimately tied to an outlook of peaceful coexistence and not an outlook of cold war..... The Negro people are ahead on the

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question of peace. The Labor movement is behind the organized peace movement today, which is predominantly middle class. How to bring these things closer together? How to bring the Negro Labor alliance into sharper focus in relation to political action, support for organization of the South, support for a coalition, a political coalition against the Dixiecrats and their reactionary Republican supporters? All these things were blurred because of this leveling out.

Finally, on political action, again a leveling out because my own feeling is that to project an anti-monopoly coalition is an.....move different that a strategic..... without discussing the aim of a third party. My own feeling is that the active building of a third party movement will precede a Communist anti-monopoly coalition..... It would be inconceivable to project the aim of an anti-monopoly coalition without at least simultaneously projecting the concrete aim of building a third party, which we are not today ready to do. Therefore, we should avoid and try to clarify the problem of superimposing, and I don't want to dwell on the word strategic, but we better clarify how strategic and where strategic in time this concept is, otherwise we will be saddled with a future strategic concept which controls and tests the movement in terms of our tactical objectives and our program of action, and that will lead to a very sectarian and narrowing approach, whereas if we straighten it out in time and in tactics, we will have a clearer aim of the steps and the (struggles?) that we have to pass through to reach this goal.

MORRIS CHILDS: Comrades, I agree with the keynote speech of GUS HA. and the analysis contained therein. I don't see any contradiction between projecting a struggle for peace, which is the main thing that must firm.....every (moral?) activity everywhere, and our own concept that we are fighting monopoly capitalism, that we'll mobilize as many people, as many organizations as possible, all of society, except the monopolists in the struggle against that class which



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represents the present capitalist society. I think we shouldn't spend so much time trying to differentiate because we're liable to lose the people. What are you reading in the headlines today? A big investigation about the trusts raising the prices of drugs, and how this is controlled on a monopoly basis, etcetera. But Comrades, I want to speak about the struggle.....I believe we are in a new situation. To say that the United States today is different, than it was a few months ago before Comrade KHRUSHCHEV visited would be a truism. It is different because in that visit there was expression of great feeling for peace.

Now we have some questions. We have no big, broad, one movement for peace in the United States. But there are all kinds of movements for peace and if we just shout we want peace, we are not going to mobilize the people. We have to take up the issues that interest this particular group or this particular class in order to mobilize them for peace. I think that in reading the report of Comrade LUMER we got an idea of some of the problems involved and these things will sink in after we read the figures and the economics of the thing involved. But Comrades, the capitalist class has been aware of the need to reappraise its policy now for more time than we give them credit for. I know that in a number of pamphlets issued by leaders of the bourgeoisie, for example last January they issued a pamphlet, the Foreign Policy Association, who directed the United States Foreign Economic Policy. They're running an indication that there must be a re-appraisal. The indications are that the fight will be on the economic field, not so much in the field of nuclear weapons though the same author, RICHARD N. GARVER (phonetic) proposed an increase in the armament expenditures.

From all our concrete issues, what are the possibilities. Comrades, in Chicago, within the last year there were two conferences or workshops sponsored by the Chicago

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Federation of Labor to which they invited scientists to discuss some problems resulting, let's say, from radiation fallout. This is a problem very much related to peace. The American Federation of Labor in its "Economic Review" for October has an entire issue devoted to radiation, health and safety, and has a series of demands-I do not want to read them, how these things affect the working class and what kind of legislation the working class should fight for and why labor and management should want the same legislation.....and the monopoly fight against this type of legislation. Health is involved-The general health of the public, the workers of armament industry related to atomic energy, etcetera.....

Labor has taken up this position. They don't draw the conclusion but there's where the Party come in. Comrades, in Chicago right now there are all kinds of activities for peace. You know if you've read in our "Worker," that when AARON FISHER (phonetic) came to Chicago, we had a meeting sponsored by a number of trade unionists and others, for example some of the speakers were from the peace educational sector of the American press, Quaker ERNIE MAY (phonetic) the prominent Negro leader from the restaurant union, the general chairman of late 1948 and 1949, SAM POLLOCK (phonetic) from Cleveland; the Ohio Butcher Workmen, the Union locals, etcetera. The significant thing is that this sort of thing is meeting in Chicago. Held after a great number of years, about a thousand people attended, mainly workers, listening to HARRY BRIDGES talk about peace.

At the present time there is quite a referendum going on in Chicago called the Opinion Poll. This has been organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in which they poll certain questions, about EISENHOWER's visit to the Soviet Union. Should he go next Spring? Do you think he should go? Posed in the form of a question, but actually they are asking him to go.

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What about these A and H bomb tests. Should they continue? What about world-wide disarmament and so on and so on. Side by side, there is a woman's organization organized by the "left" on similar topics - organized by the Women's Peace and Unity Club, with JERRY GRAHAM (phonetic) speaking.

The veterans are carrying on a campaign. - for example, the American Veteran's Committee has as its front plank in its program, a drive to keep membership. (in?) the struggle for peace. In the crucial year ahead, the American Veterans Committee will be called upon for continuous leadership, and great dedication for the cause of peace. Now I cite these instances to indicate that there is activity among the people and that we have the job of giving consciousness to these movements.....We may unite with the working class and affect the working class and maybe other classes against monopolies.....

At the same time we must unite with other sections of population even if there is a section of the monopoly endorsed in the fight for peace.....I say, Comrades, that the capitalist spokesmen are admitting in their writing as they have done recently, for example, in the publication of a book that challenges Communism.....

I say, Comrades, that we leave this convention with a clarity in regards to our outlook with the understanding that peace is the issue that must permeate every struggle that we participate.....

The following motions were made and passed at this session:

PAT TOOHEY was elected temporary chairman of the Latin American Affairs Committee;

JIM ALLEN was chosen to conduct the meeting on Party principles in the absence of [redacted] the

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chairwoman who would not arrive until the following day.

PHIL BART announced that all these would meet that evening.

GUS HALL then read the following resolution which was adopted:

The following resolution I think we can agree upon before we go. Comrades, the Communist Party of the United States is so pleased that it opened its 17th National Convention on this day - a day set aside by the United Nations for the people of the world to re-affirm their faith in the dignity of man and to dedicate themselves to the struggle for human freedom and the peace of the world. It is fitting and appropriate that we should open our Party's convention on such a day as this. Long live Human Rights Day, long live the peace of the world!

MORNING SESSION, DECEMBER 11, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at 10:47 a.m.

UNMALE: The first motion the presiding committee want to make for the nomination of the state chairman of New Jersey PAT TOOHEY as chairman of this morning's session.

GUS HALL: Are there any further nominations: Are you ready to vote? All the Comrades in favor raise your delegates card. Down. All those opposed. So ordered. (TOOHEY nominated as chairman).

The secretary is busy at a committee meeting so I'm substituting for him. First the Presiding Committee proposes that the-we'd like to hear a Commission on Jewish work and because the delegations were not given an opportunity to get the members - that we want to here propose the

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election of the full committee. Propose: JACK KLING, as Chairman; JUNE GORDON; PAUL NOVICK, CHAIM SULLER. And second, we have.....that want to add any one else to the commission is welcome to do so.

UNMALE: JACK KLING (phonetic) Chicago; JUNE GORDON (phonetic), PAUL NOVICK and HYMAN SCHULAR (phonetic).

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: You've hear the motion on the proposal. Is it seconded.

UNMALE: ROBERT SHERVAK (phonetic), I'd like to be on that committee.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: The district are entitled to add to this committee if they wish. You've heard the committee's proposal. Those in favor please say, aye.

DELEGATES: Aye.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Any opposed. It's carried.

HALL: Secondly, the Presiding Committee proposes that we set up the committee on work in the nationality field generally. And the way we propose to handle this is that we designate temporary chairman, JACK STACHEL (phonetic), and that the district, especially, that handles work in this field.....more acquainted in this field.....Comrades to this committee.....

UNMALE: (from floor) What's the name of that?

HALL: (on P.A.) On the national group work.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Is there any Comrade on the proposal? Ready to vote on it. Those in favor of adopting the proposal please say aye.

DELEGATES: Aye.

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CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Any opposed. Done.

HALL: The Presiding Committee proposes that we change the order of business so that the youth committee report will come following the report on Party Organization on Saturday.

UNMALE: You've heard the proposal to change the order of business. Any comments? It's adoption is called. Those in favor signify by saying aye.

DELEGATES: Aye.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Any opposed. (Smacks gavel.)

UNFEMALE: Comrade Chairman will there be an announcement where these two committees will meet.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Yes, there will be. I wish to announce at this time, Comrade CHARLES LERNER (phonetic), who presented the convention some additional greeting.

We'll now proceed with continuation with the discussion that began last night and continue this morning. The first speaker now is Comrade JOHN (phonetic) from Southern California to be followed by BILL P. (phonetic) from Southern California. Comrade JOHN (phonetic)?

UNMALE: I would imagine that would be Comrade HELLMAN (phonetic) who would probably be at a committee meeting.

UNMALE: Comrade Chairman. I just want ... until more delegates get here. The reason why I ask is that the order of business calls for a report from the trade union commission. ..., that - what the order of business calls for, now if we wait until more delegates get here well,

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we can honor that. I think the proper order of business is to hear the trade union report.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: It may be helpful to do that. To try and work in a couple of the speakers who are apt to contribute on the subject of (the equity?) and then to prepare.....before the presentation of the report. If it would be agreeable to you, we would proceed with several speakers.....trade union report, as quickly as possible.

UNMALE: It was announced yesterday that Comrade JACKSON would give a report on international solidarity when I understood was a sub-report on the ..... report.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: .....committee. Comrade (HOMER (phonetic)) will discuss this thing. We're trying to rearrange the agenda to get as much in as possible just to bring..... It is not that it has been forgotten. Just rearranging.....presentation. Are we ready for P (phonetic).

UNMALE: Yes sir.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Is Comrade JOHN (HELLMAN ) of California ready for P (phonetic) to speak?

UNMALE: Yes

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: Speak now or forever keep your peace (in our ranks). (Laughter)

UNMALE: Comrades, the only question I wanted to go into was raised by Comrade PAUL, New York, and that's in regard to the placement of this question of an anti-monopoly coalition and just what level we'll place it on and how much of a goal it is

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for our party. But first of all I'd like to refer back recently to the period of the 30's, where we used to praise the United Front and this was referred to a major tactic of the Party and of the Parties around the world. It was not referred to as the goal or the strategic aim of our Party. United Front against fascism.

One of the errors of Browderism was that it had took the tactic of the United Front and in a certain sense made this the goal instead of the tactic. And this in my opinion was one of the errors of Browderism. Of what he may - the tactic was the means of advancing the cause of socialism at the time to let it become the goal in itself.

Now in our 16th Convention we placed the question of the anti-monopoly coalition as being the strategic aim of our party - now. I think this is incorrect because the strategic aim of our party should remain socialism and the anti-monopoly coalition is just the major tactic which to me is just another way of stating a united front is a major tactic of the period and working toward this goal, socialism. Now it being a strategic aim or a strategic goal means that in the achievement of it we bring about a basic change. Now the goal of our party is to bring about a basic change in society itself and this will only be done in the United States by the achievement of socialism. Now we can speak of a strategic goal in the area of trade union work or in the area of political action but this is another thing on a different level. And - but to make the anti-monopoly coalition a strategic goal of our party itself, I think it can resolve in some grave dangers. For one thing somewhere down the road here I can see someone telling me, you can't bring in the fighting socialism here because you're going to upset the anti-monopoly coalition. And often all the goal of our party is the anti-monopoly coalition and - so - I'm very concerned that we placed this anti-monopoly coalition as the major tactic of this period. But realizing it is not going to make a fundamental change



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in American society. To .....a fundamental change in the field of political relationship, in the field of political action, political parties, just the same as perhaps in the - at one time.....the strategic goal of our trade union work was the organization of industrial unions in the basic industries and we achieved it but this was not placed as the goal of the whole party overall.

Now there many people who are still referring to the anti-monopoly coalition as the strategic aim or the strategic task of our party and that's why I'm concerned about it. And while its not.....in place in our present draft resolution, I think we need clarity on it.

Now - how much time do I have - I'd like to go on to another question men. And that's on the matter of peaceful coexistence. Now there are some Comrades who view the matter of peaceful coexistence because the word peace for them I think that they assume it's going to be tranquil, that the element of tranquility will be a part of it and certainly we have to be very clear that a period of peaceful coexistence that is successfully achieved will also be a period of the continued decline of imperialism, the continuous liberation of colonial countries, the continued advance of socialism and this will be anything but tranquil. The problem is to keep it peaceful, yes, and (avoid?) breaking into major armed conflict. But we will have every year - I think we can anticipate to have more Suezes, and Lebanons and Iraqs, Cubas, and Panamas and all of these other things.

Of course the imperialists have their view about people coexisting. They say you have to maintain the status quo, which to them means maintaining all the present positions of imperialism, while we place it differently, we say yes, it means maintaining the status quo, but the status quo is change itself. To the status quo at present means the steady development of the colonial liberation

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movement, the steady progress of socialism and so on. That this is the real status quo. Well obviously there is a great difference. I disagree with this question status quo means and we have to have no illusions but what we're going to be constantly faced with international crisis even under peaceful coexistence. Because imperialism is not going to give up an inch anywhere without trying everything, it can to retard the progress of colonial peoples and retard the progress of socialism.

CHAIRMAN PAT TOOHEY: ..... in announcing Comrade LIGHTFOOT.

LIGHTFOOT: Comrades, the comrades who composed the - committee working on the table of resolutions met late last night and again this morning at 9:00 and was unable to satisfactorily conclude its work in order to ..... for this convention the - well there's much of several additional.... that we'd like to have done..... we are therefore requesting permission from this convention and in making this request we are cognizant of the fact that many of us would like to hear many other various resolutions that are before our party. But we feel that the question is so decisive that we would like to request that the comrades who compose that committee be allowed to proceed to another room so that they could continue discussion and try to iron out the wrinkles that still exist. Comrade Chairman, I would like permission to do this.

CHAIRMAN PAT TOOHEY: Will the convention gave a ruling on this. Is it so moved. Those in favor, raise your hand. Down. O.K. Opposed. The motion is carried.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT: Will all of the comrades who participated in last night's meeting as well as this meeting this morning..... Proceed to the room to the left of the convention, immediately.

CHAIRMAN: Please come to order.

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UNMALE: How long, I should have asked this before, how long will this committee go on, do you have any idea? If anybody addresses the convention now. They are addressing the Convention minus a very important and sizeable executive.

UNMALE: I know most of that already.

COMRADE BILL (LNU) from Southern California: I feel that Comrade GUS' report has given the Convention a much better perspective than in the Draft Resolution into a resolution that can really mobilize our Party for the great tasks that we face in the coming period. But steadily I think that the contribution in his report on the question of criticism and self-criticism. I think the Party leadership will continue to develop. It is in this work, that our Party will be able to make some of the decisive changes that are necessary in the Party in the coming period in order for us to meet the new tasks that we face ahead.

Furthermore, I would like to address a few questions on the question of our trade union resolution and our trade union work. I wish to clarify this experience in the past period has been a tendency of the Comrades who have been squeaking into our party, that we don't take that with many different situations in the trade union movement that our Comrades were finding themselves lost. On the one hand there is a tendency to say that we can do nothing in the trade union movement that can lodge into the mainstream. On the other hand Comrades who are in much more favorable situations are placed in a position where they can raise every problem within the trade union movement and then become examples to the others who find their problems so different that they think that it's impossible to work.....that other people are working bigger miracles.

I think that one of the tasks that we have in the

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coming period is to find the general role that's going to develop the building of the Party within the trade union movement. Only if we can develop this sort of an attitude can we develop the possibility of fighting back because any tendency to fight back on the part of a few individuals without any mass trade unions is certainly going to meet with defeat and I think the possibility of making a fight back on the Landrum-Griffin Bill needs a real ideological separation on the part of our party to really struggle their Comrades to the understanding that with many different tactics of major goal that we have in the trade union movement is to build the Party and to continue to build the Party. Furthermore, otherwise to a great extent we have brought members of the trade unions in the Party and I say that do we have to face this affair. We had areas where Comrades have refused to participate in Party activity because they say security becomes the main thing and the security of the individual becomes important. But Comrades, I think while this struggle exists, sort of thinking, we must remember that the security of our Comrades in the shops and in the trade union movement is important, although the security of the party becomes even into a blind thing because we don't want just a whole-sale bunch of firemen work out of a general tendency of becoming dramatic and you know enlarged activity. But they should be more considerate in building and strengthening the Party.

The next thing that we have is taking up some advanced problems in connection with the trade union movement, basic demands that have always been considered peripheral demands, insurance, sickness, and other insurance. This is heaven for the insurance companies and by the way one of the hearts of capitalism or imperialism hire a big bargain. The workers insurance funds that are in the hands of the insurance companies are mounting up and beginning to create big investments for them and the basis for them to carry on all kinds of policy and losing money in housing

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and other things in order to make up their deficits. I think that it's time that the Party in our incoming trade union commission to begin to dwell on this question from the point of view of developing a program for a struggle in the trade union movement to see to it that this money goes to the workers and that this money is used properly. There are many problems connected with this, you work in one industry today, there are union conditions that you pay into the fund for your sickness, hospitalization and so forth and get by it. You go into another industry and you have to begin all over again, retirement funds are just being built up and they have no use because workers are being laid off as a result of this, and when they are approaching the age of retirement and they can't get it. Now the government has plans for government workers. You put into the retirement fund but when the time comes for you to leave if you are ready to leave before your time of retirement, you are able to withdraw it at once. I think we have to begin to examine and to draw up a program that will either turn this over to the whole question of the same people we are going to get, that we have a beginning.. Now there are questions on the Negro Resolution by, but we won't go into but there is only one problem or one sentence about that. I speak on the National question, on the right of self determination that we cannot always deal with this question of reference to the Negro question. Our Party needs a policy on this question so that it applies not only to the Negro problem but to the Mexican problem, the Indian problem, Eskimo and many others and out of this we can develop really a good line in relationship to the Negro people.

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LOUIS WEINSTOCK: Comrades, first I would like to associate myself with the keynote speech made by Comrade GUS HALL and I associate myself fully with that speech and judging from the response that he got from the delegation, I think that the whole convention is unanimous in accepting the keynote speech.

My speech this morning will be different, however. I have spent two most beautiful months in Europe that I just returned from there. Therefore, I would like to say a word or two on this interesting subject. I was listening to the telegrams that were read here yesterday, and these telegrams mean more to me than it may mean to some of the comrades.

In these telegrams, I see the genuine expression of people whom I have met in the course of these two months. The genuine respect and admiration for the Communist Party (CP) of the United States. Comrades, words cannot express how the people in Europe and the rest of the parts of the world feel about our CP, but that it fought back an instant reaction for the death of Mc Carthyism, but above all few have noted in every telegram the question of the struggle which our party fought against revisionism and for the proper place of the CP of the United States. I am sure we have the respect and love of the people the world over. In the course of these two months, comrades I had a chance to be in Western Europe, in France, in Western Germany, but I had also the pleasure to be in Eastern Germany, and in the course of being there, was the guest of the German Trade Unions in connection with the tenth anniversary celebration of the German Democratic Republic. I have met trade unionists of every country in the world. There were Communist representatives from eighty CPs of the world there in Germany. I had another occasion to attend the trade union congress affiliated with the WFTU ( World Federation of Trade Unions ) but the delegates at this congress were not all affiliated with the WFTU. There were delegates who were affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unionists; delegates from non affiliated organizations. This was my first opportunity to express our vanguard appreciation for the excellent struggle that was in behalf of the American Communist and American Trade Unionists in the

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fight against dictators and against Mc Carthyism.....

Naturally I did not fail to utilize the occasion and talk to them about our three leaders who are sitting here, and to talk to them about other trade unionists who are in jail because of the so-called violation of the Taft-Hartley Law, and somehow I found an expression of solidarity and internationalism, a kind that you don't find at home. Now I haven't got much time. Therefore I would like to take up two subjects. Intercolonial and Berlin. Comrades, I think this convention owes me seven minutes from the last convention. From these there are three minutes of points I would like to make that would give me an additional two or three minutes, because it is important.

Comrades, I want to speak specifically on one subject that was very close to me for a long time and is still very close. I have in my hand a copy of the speech that was made by KADAR at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress last week. In this speech KADAR, and other Communists analyzed the 1956 Counter Revolution in Hungary, and he divides his analysis into four points. I would like to read to you a few quotes, all of the quotes taken from the speech there: "The common uprising that exploded in Budapest on October 25, 1956, and all of these precise problems that stirred the social order of the Hungarian People's Republic, that was conducted against the power of the working class, against the people's peace and against the socialistic achievement of the Hungarian people and therefore they want to push and tear down what they can." The second point I want to use is the following: "The strongest factors against the Soviet Counter Revolution and uprising in Hungary was international imperialism, made the most reactionary struggle of the United States in the forefront who promised faithfully liberation and supported the enemies of the Hungarian people on all levels with all the means at their disposal, all of this imperialist inspired organized the counter revolution uprising primarily through their agents and political errors in their other associates... The counter revolution forces from within and international imperialism forces from without? To another a great Hungarian". At this

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point KADAR also analyzed the mistakes and the short-comings of the party during that period. On the other hand.... I edited "The Sunday Worker"... and also had heard from the statement from Comrade JACKSON in a telegram that was sent to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party when I attended their congress and I just hope that they understood me. The...to the Hungarian Party which says "having overcome the waste and ravage of imperialist nurtured counter revolutions your party has established unthinkable purges if the words of people are the basis of correctly expressed internal unity."

Now all this garbage is made about our party taking a correct position in the congress. And the analysis of the World Marxist Movement on the question and it automatically is a question or rather how we stood up and upheld the people's role in the spirit of October 21...I have spared the honor of the good world of the future but I feel that Comrade HEALEY is not--that in her message, if I remember correctly, to a television audience in California on the Hungarian question said as follows: Mrs. HEALEY said on the question of Hungary she believes the Hungarian people first struck against the cycle of grievances resulting from the speech of the Hungarian KADAR against the Soviet Union. This is a new one. Up to now we note about the Hungarian mistakes. Now she has something more to do. That is the mistakes of the Soviet Union says DOROTHY HEALEY...

This is the contrary to the (sentiments?) that this body sent to Hungary. This is contrary to the analysis of the world Marxist Leninist Movement and I only told (DOROTHY) personally, and repeating it, that I would like to see some sincere self-criticism on the part of the subject. We have so many other things to do and we are confronted by so many other problems. But insofar as this question is concerned, there is nothing (afterwards) comrades.

If we inspect every once in a while and self critically examine our position in the past then we can carry on our work in the future much better. Now one more



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point and I'll be through and I am sure I did not use up all the five additional minutes--and this is in connection with a little incident that occurred yesterday at the Trade Union discussion conference. I consider myself like all the other Communists--that I too carry on mass work. I live among the non-Communists. I carry on my daily activities with hundreds of people who are good trade unionists and non-Communists. I carry on my work among the nationalistic groups and I am wellknown for the type of work and I have always had all times, of my adult life, defended the CP. I don't consider myself a sectarian and do not consider myself a Leftist. I consider myself a Communist and comrades when last night in the Trade Union discussion I criticized one section where as I agreed with the Trade Union resolution. About the international question I felt that our trade resolution is weak. We are not mentioning the fact that there is such a thing as the World Federation of Trade Unions, an organization that is the strongest force in the world today in the struggle for peace and against war. We are using German Trade Unions or Czechoslovak Trade Unions, English or Australian that are emphasizing the most important and outstanding struggle waged by the World Federation of Trade Unions. ....and I proposed that in view of the fact that GEORGE MEANY ....has been decorated by the German government for the excellent disrupting work, that the Communist Party resolution should mention the fact that the WFTU is the world's force in the struggle for peace, and labor unity....And the comrades felt that I should be criticized, and the name of WFTU shall be deleted from the Party resolution. I think comrades that WFTU should find a prominent part in our resolution, together with International Women's Federation, together with the World's Youth Federation and every international organization, that is carrying on the struggle for peace today.

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Chairman TOOHEY: Comrade WINTER has had time to translate the greetings from the Chinese and other parties, and we will hear a few of them.

Comrade WINTER:

If there is any doubt anywhere about the dedication of the CP of the United States to its world-wide obligations as a party of a class, which is concerned with the ending of exploitation everywhere in the world and which as an American Party must be conscious of the special fact that it is the ruling class of our country which has undertaken the task of dominating the lives of peoples everywhere else in the world---I think that the testimony of the parties of the working class of other countries may well reassure anyone who has the slightest doubt of the score of the American Communists proletarian internationalism. The newspapers are very much concerned about this 17th Convention of our Party. Hasn't it occurred to anyone to wonder why. The very same papers, which have been doing so much to peddle the notion that this Party is deceived, is insignificant is ineffective--- and which not only have been trying to peddle that notion, but have been trying to fan the flames of factionalism, of suspicion, of dissension, why they're giving so much attention to this convention of our party. After all the chief banner under which this convention was prepared and is meeting, is the banner of solidarity of peoples all over the world to assure the preservation of mankind, by staying the hand of the warmakers; and guaranteeing the preservation of world peace. Our party is not relying upon the change of heart in those quarters of our ruling class, who are now declaring themselves for peace. Though we greet such declaration from any and every quarter...But this convention is seeking to find the most effective means of guaranteeing the fulfillment of those declarations---and blocking the road of retreat from their fulfillment is every way possible. Naturally in all other parts of the world there is concern about what our party, as small as it is, has to say, and is doing to give support of a part of the American class, and a vast majority of the American people to every declaration for peace, so that peoples elsewhere may rest in some confidence upon the fulfillment of

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declarations that come from high places in our government. So we have received greetings from CPs, worker's parties throughout the world not merely as tokens of good wishes as fraternal salutations, though we would be happy to receive them on those terms as well, but we have greetings that are obviously based on careful thought. Examinations of the actual practice, the changes and growth that have taken place in our party's understanding and work since our last convention in the light of this all embracing world problem. Can the war-makers hand be stayed. Will the peoples, especially in the United States, be united to push forward to the fulfillment of the growing declarations for peace and peaceful co-existence. I will not read more than a couple of greetings in full. But I would like to mention that we have amongst others, some of which will be read later, greetings from the Communist Party of New Zealand, CP of Australia, the CP of Finland, the CP of the Netherlands, the CP of Sweden and many more. In the greetings from the CP of Sweden we are told by the Central Committee of that Party, the peace loving people of the world observes the CP of the USA with great interest because it is the consistent and dependable leading force in the struggle of the American people for a peaceful co-existence between peoples and countries regardless of the system of their society. And if the parties from these far flung corners of the globe at least from where we sit make this assessment they make it on the basis of the possibility of actually knowing what our party is thinking and doing and seeking to do still more effectively. The globe has shrunk not only necessitating the peaceful co-existence of people and nations but it has also shrunk in a way that speeds communications and makes intimate knowledge much more available, in fact, as far as China on the other side of the globe our parties press reach us regularly, and with a speed that exceeds the speed our own comrades in California are able to receive "The Worker". So, with those thoughts in mind, permit me to read greetings from the Communists in Budapest, sent us by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

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Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of your 17th National Convention the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and its membership extend to you their heartfelt fraternal greetings. Your convention meets at a time when the ice of the cold-war is about to break. We are envious that your party, which during the last 40 years held its ground in so many a storm, will take part in the intricate and meaningful struggle to come with courage and wisdom, for the .....future of laboring mankind. We whole heartedly wish you success in your fight for the improvement of living condition and equal rights for all American working people, for the unity of the working class and against the terror of reaction.

We take the opportunity to thank you again for militantly upholding the banner of our cause during the Hungarian counter revolution in 1956, thus giving true evidence of your proletarian internationalism. In this spirit we are following your activities as your success is our success too. Long live the vanguard of the American working class of the CP, USA, long live the international solidarity of all working people. Yours fraternally. Central Committee of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party."

And lastly at this point I would like to read a message from the first successful party of socialism in the world; the party which is now building a Communist society. The Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union conveys heartfelt and warmest fraternal greetings to the 17th Convention of the CP, USA. The CP of the United States of America has waged and is waging a persistent struggle for the living conditions, civil rights, and democratic liberties of the American class and all working people. It has always been in the front ranks of the fighters for peace, for the lessening of international tension, and for the improvement of friendly relations between our peoples. The CPUSA courageously withstood the attack of reaction, inflicted a serious defeat on the liquidationists and on the splitting activities of the sectarians, and successfully, pursues the

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principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union wishes the 17th Convention of the CPUSA fruitful work and success in further strengthening the ranks of the party, in solution of the problem facing the party in regard to the further struggles in defense of the interests of the American people for strengthening United States and Soviet relations in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union.

Chairman TOOHEY: Comrades, I regret to inform the convention that a distinguished visitor and fraternal representative arriving to attend our convention, arrived in our country but was immediately engaged in a serious automobile accident that placed him in the hospital, that is Comrade JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the CP of Puerto Rico. Our Presiding Committee will express your wishes to select a small committee to visit Comrade SANTOS (PH) to convey to him our sympathy and our warm greeting and to keep in close touch with him informing him of our convention during its session. Is it agreed? We will revert backwards to try to pursue the organized agenda and at this time, again interrupt the speaking list to present the report which was laid over from yesterday. The report or remarks of Comrade JACKSON on "Our Party and the World Marxist Movement."

Comrade JIM JACKSON: Comrades, some 41 years ago in the desert of a war-racked capitalist world, a tender sprout had burst through the barren earth. The first land of workers rule had come into being. The first act of its movement of workers and peasants was to proclaim peace to the world and to declare its goal to be the establishment of a truly just society, free of exploitation men by men, without oppressed or oppressors, a society that would be wholly dedicated to the abundant satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of mankind, that is, a socialist a Communist society.

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The class conscious among the workers of the whole world looked upon this heroic sprout with wonder and ardent sympathy. All of their own dreams and aspirations seemed to rest on the outcome of its heroic brave and brutally unequal struggle for life. They literally watered it with their own tears of pride and joy and hope. And so it was for over three decades forcing a militant American workers, we Communists in the first place, did what we could to defend the rights of the first working peoples' state on earth, the USSR to live. We did what we could to combat the hate and calumny and render fraternal solidarity, international aid, to this first worker' state on earth.

Then, in years past, by working for peace and friendship we sought to aid and sought aid for the first workers's state. We endeavored to ease the plight of the young Soviet Unions's hungry and hard pressed millions of toilers. Now in our days, we Communists are still crusading for understanding, for peace, and for friendship with the Soviet Union. What is the difference between the then and the now of our continuing work for friendship and peace with the Soviet Union. Then, in the older days--it was mainly a matter of international solidarity, of--so to speak, strike aid, as it were, assistance to workers of another country.

Today, the central significance of our struggle for the cause of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, cannot be viewed simply as a question of class plurality or exercising international working class solidarity. In the first instance, it is a question of the most urgent and broadest national self-interest of our own working class, of our nation, of our own people. As it is the cornerstone for the building up of the peace of the world so it is, friendship with the Soviet Union, the rock-bed foundation for the hopeful future well being of our own people.

We serve the nation's best interests, we serve the immediate and long-term goals of our own class in promoting peace and friendship with the Soviet Union symbol of the whole new world--a socialist world in being and continuing to develop.

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In reading certain greetings I pointed out that our party at its 17th Convention is being showered with heart-warming messages of solidarity, appreciation, fraternity, and support, from the socialist countries where the working class is in power and from CPs throughout the world. What a marked contrast with the situation that prevailed at the time of our last convention.

As you will recall comrades, the time of the last convention the Prestige of our party was not at peak in the eyes of the parties and workers in the world. There was great concern on the part of all the fraternal parties as to the phenomena that was occurring within our party. At that time there was... to whole concept of the worth of the proposition of the unity of the workers of the whole world in the cause of the advancement of humanity and the progress of peoples. There was a species of appeal to a kind of isolationism, a kind of American independence of world working class ties of fraternity and bonds of mutual relationships.

We can record comrades in reports the fact is evidenced in these readings and testimonies of affection, of love and a solidarity with our party testimonies of appreciation. All these attest of the fact that between the 16th Convention of our party and the present 17th National Convention of our party, our party has grown in prestige in the whole world. Marxist movement and that this is duly regarded and appreciated. If ties were weakened and in some places severed with our friendly brother parties and organizations of the workers and the working people around the world in this intervening period, a whole number of measures not only the improvements in our own conceptions but then there have been physical strengthening of ties and exchanges, visitations to the various other parts of the world.

We report with pride the tour of our Communist journalists to Europe, to Latin America, to Canada etc. This is not simply a matter of ties between Communists, but is is a part of a welcome happy new development that is characteristic of our day in which the broadest struggle of the American people are now increasingly trade unionists are beginning to visit and exchange experiences with workers beyond our borders and

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with the workers and people of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries in the first instance so among this new movement of tourism to strengthen the bonds of understanding as a foundation for peace and co-existence. Our party has been a part of the development and it has resulted in the greatly enhancing the understanding, appreciation and raising the prestige of the American Communist Party in the eyes of the people of the whole world.

Now comrades, traditionally our class enemy traditionally some of our colleagues even have sought to misrepresent and abuse us when we hold forth the banner of solidarity and internationalism. They try and represent this as some kind of agency relationship, they represent this as some kind of puppet workers of the American Communist. They try and suggest that the pursuit of international solidarity is somehow diabolical and against the national interest of our country. But we base ourselves not only on the tried and tested except that...formulate that the ties beyond the family bond should be strongest between the workers of the whole world. More than this, this conception of the internationalism of the interest of the working people now extended to the internationalism of the whole people in the state of preserving peace and insuring world wide prosperity is today a popular issue, is today understood and even given voice to be no less personages than EISENHOWER himself, who only yesterday called for massive exchange of students by the thousands between not only the colonial peoples and Americans but between the Americans and the Soviet peoples.

But what is the precise relationship between the CP of the United States and the Communist Parties of every country? There are ties and there is independence and it is well and important that we understand this relationship and that we help to lay the ghost of the false charge of foreign agency that again and again wearily is dragged into the print of every day's papers. The CP is linked to the Communist and the vanguard Parties of the working people in every country of the world by common ideological precepts, by



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the foundations of a common ideology. They are linked with the workers in the parties of the whole world on the basis of a common inspiration for the flowering joyful era for mankind which the Marxist call Communism. This common goal and aspiration which Communist and advanced workers in all countries pursue is a second tie that binds us one to the other in a special kind of fraternity. But there is no organic or operational identification and unity between the CPs either between our party and the CP of the Soviet Union nor between any of the parties of the world. We have always proclaimed and demonstrated to reasonable people that our party has its first primary allegiance to our own nation and above all to our own class, and it is in the pursuit of the maximum happiness for our class and our nation in struggle against those who could demean the nation and impress the class that the Communist of the United States charts its course and defines its policies.

We do not live on Mars somewhere, we live in one world that is constantly shrinking therefore Communists in arriving a policy always take into account the interrelationships between peoples forces on a whole world scale. That is the area in which and the indissoluble linkage between the National and the International interest. There is no conflict nor dichotomy between these two and there cannot be. To further fortify what we've always contended, not as some legalistic device in a Foley Square Trial, but as basic cardinal feature of the application of Marxism - Leninism to the task before us. To fortify this, however, let us invoke the authority of Comrade KHRUSHCHEV who is no small Marxist. He said the Marxist-Leninist peoples and quote from his report to the 21st Congress - the Marxist-Leninist Parties recognize every country has its own specific features of socialist development, but that does not mean that he can go forward to socialism by some other road, one that lies on the side of the general path indicated by Marxism Leninism. What is to be taken into consideration are the specific features of the situation and period in which one country or another advances to socialism.

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He said further -- unfortunately I didn't have the correct place to make this reference, but I call your attention to the section about midway of the report of Comrade KHRUSHCHEV where in a very special way and in some detail he described the fact that Communist small Parties and large parties, Communist with much seniority in the world Marxist movement and with little seniority in the world Marxist movement are equal brother parties, equal parties, and independent parties, not only with the right to be in cordial agreement with each other, but also the right of initiative and that all Communist parties as large and distinguished have no closed market on all creative ideas and useful ideas. He documented and illustrated this thought and hailed and demonstrated that the CPs of each country are independent and their first allegiance is to their own class in the first instance and in so fulfilling this allegiance they will really be contributing to international solidarity.

Comrades, I am sure our party following the 17th Convention with all the inspiration we have derived from these manifestations of solidarity and appreciation and love which have been showered upon us in greetings and desires to send representatives and delegations to our convention from parties from all over the world, that this will raise high in our consciousness the need to be fully worthy of this high esteem and regard that the parties of the world have for us, to be worthy of it by first of all fulfilling the magnificent conceptions put forward in the report of Comrade GUS HALL and this will be reflected in a resolution in terms of our own class and our own nation in making a peaceful and better world and further and concretely in being more attentive to and responding to the needs for practical measures of deeds, solidarity and above all, understanding and explanation of the struggles of hard beset parties in many parts of the world.

Let me call attention first of all to the needs for special educational measures and special practical measures of international solidarity to the glorious Cuban revolutionary

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government.

The Communists modestly, self effacingly are playing major important factors and roles in all of the great struggles that are unfolding there. Bear in mind and understand more profoundly the developments throughout Latin America, in Venezuela, Uruguay, bending and unfolding important struggles in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, etc. Nor should we comrades not be smug because we are a very big popular representatives of a big population and not be extremely attentive to the big developments taking place in Canada, our neighbor, to the north, though a country of small population and a country pretty overwhelmed and dominated economically and to a certain extent politically by the United States is a country that houses a very truly heroic imagination and creative CP what from year to year is deepening its ties with masses and will certainly play in the not too distant future a big role decisively in the affairs of the state.

Comrades, the revolutionary movements of Africa, Ghana, Algeria, etc, deserve expressions of solidarity from us responses to their appeals and in this connection Comrades, let us signalize the situation in Greece where one of the outstanding leaders of the great working class, Glacions (PH) has been imprisoned not unlike our own GIL GREEN, HENRY WINSTON and BOB THOMPSON, and reaction momentarily holds sway in Greece and the Greek CP has appealed for aid and solidarity expression of pressure upon the Greek Government and appeal to the consciousness of the world. Certainly we will not be tardy in responding to such appeals.

So, comrades, in conclusion, let us take certain great satisfaction in the fact that yesterday we alone could perceive how Soviet-American friendship would serve the interests of our own people and the people of the world. Today it is fashionable and a popular thing where even when the dances of the Bolshoi came to our city that the first families in the social register compete with one another to entertain them, where last year over fifteen thousand Americans toured in the Soviet Union, and there is a certain re-discovery of all the rich cultural rewards, as well as the scientific and the reward there will flow from

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the building up of the bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union. This is no less true of the other Socialist countries, Poland, Hungary, etc, re-entering into an era where the tens of millions of Americans are prepared to understand the rich veins of gold that lie on the hills of friendship with other peoples of the world, of the Socialist countries, and the embattled countries of the yesterdays colonial world in the first instance.

Comrades, long live international solidarity! Long live and may our party soon be in lead with all these parties who have already taken the road to the establishment of socialism and then again of Communism in their own countries. There are in the world today some 34 million Communists. We're proud to be counted among those who are in their day changing the face of the world into truly promising garden for mankind. ( Unidentified male announces that the speakers list will continue and introduces Comrade ARCHIE (BROWN) of Northern California. )

ARCHIE BROWN: I first of all want to express my gratification for being loved and appreciated to the comrades in California for electing me so I could come to this wonderful convention. We're going to go places you just watch and see if we don't. First I want to say a few words relative to the question of economics of peace. There seems to be two major problems that we have to concern ourselves with which we had some experience in connection with that is the election campaign in San Francisco. Number 1, let us not try to solve the problems of capitalism-we can't do it. Once upon a time we tried that-remember we said we were going to try to do it but we couldn't do it. We can't solve the problems of capitalism; that first of all we should understand.

Secondly the question arises will there will be slump if we go on the road to peace and cut out all this war expenditures. We have to give an answer to that and that answer seems to me based on everything we can figure out, figures statistics etc, is that there does not have to be a slump per se. I think comrade LUMER and other comrades in the writings we've

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had before press that point. However, it has to be understood it seems to me, the context that the big monopolists are going to have to take a cut in the rate of profit-that is the point. That is why you need whatever name you want to give it and I don't like the name anti monopoly coalition because nobody knows what in the hell you are talking about outside when you use that term. I don't want to go to semantics, but we've been using that term, the United Peoples Front or whatever term you want to call it, but you have to have an anti monopoly coalition in order to make sure that the monopolists are willing to accept a lower rate of profit in order that there shall be peace, that is the point. You have to mobilize people to shove it down their throats, because if you think they are going to accept it I don't think anyone in this room would think the capitalists are going to accept that willingly. You have to fight to force them to accept it. Those are the two main points.

Now how did it reflect itself in relation to the election campaign in San Francisco? In our literature, propaganda, and campaign generally, we advanced a people's program and we called for a couple of things relative to the question of peace which would implement peace, like trade with China. With the young people we raised this question of ending the peace time draft and a couple of other details like that in a very specific way. We went to the worker and spoke to them about housing projects, the whole program of hospitals and the social welfare programs that would cost money. Everybody knows that the people are the ones who love to pay the taxes and reflects itself in San Francisco, where the majority of workers or a large part are home owners, while the bank owns it and they pay to the bank is what I mean to say. Nevertheless the people have to pay the taxes so you when you start talking about building homes, hospitals, they can always see a tax increase on their homes. Therefore, they are not too willing to go far so we raised the questions that the money being spent for war shall be spent for these purposes that they understand that is some of the reasons why he got support in the election campaign.

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One comrade raised the question here that the anti monopoly coalition should not be posed as a strategic aim, the anti monopolic people's government and so on. I call your attention to the draft declaration of aims and tasks, the latest one to go. I think on pages 5 and 6 it speaks about the American road to socialism. I find that it is posed correctly because it is within the context, American road to Socialism and it poses the question of building the people's forces to curb the power of monopoly that is the way he talks about it. When he says that labor movement is going to have to give leadership on this, we build its independent political forces and together with the forces of the people to organize to elect people to office and also to elect it to such an extent that the people can have a say so to a large extent. It also raised the question on page 6. It says due to the disastrous social effect of automation and other technical innovations in the hands of the monopolists, labor and its allies will have to intervene directly through contract negotiations and political action, to demand a growing degree of control over the management and production policies of big corporations. Now that is one of the aspects, it seems to me of a peoples anti monopoly coalition. This is really going to take some doing but it is raised within the whole content of the "American Road to Socialism" and I think here it is posed correctly.

You know, in connection to this question of peace and if it is contradiction with the peoples anti-monopoly coalition, it seems to me that our experience at San Francisco proves to be opposite. I already spoke about some of the things we raise with the working people there and with the youth. We showed that the bringing about of peace and the cutting down of war expenditures did not necessarily mean a slump depending upon how much the people would fight and organize. I want to hear the speaker on the question of international solidarity and some of the problems relative to international solidarity. I join with Comrade JACKSON and the fine presentation he made in that respect. The last common ideological precepts, we have a common ideology the working class throughout the world. We also have, this small part of ours the job of winning the people to understand

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the need for international labor solidarity, international working class solidarity, international peoples solidarity. The amount of statements we put in our resolutions will not solve that problem. You can put all kinds of statements in resolutions and we can goose ourselves all we want (he pardoned this cliche) but that will not solve the problem. You must win the workers to an understanding. Let me give you a couple of experiences. You know about this steel strike. You know about the ads of the steel corporations and one of the points they raise in these ads is that we are in international competition; that the steel workers are forcing us to be priced out of market both abroad and here. So what is this conclusion? The conclusion is that what we have to do here is cut the wages of the steel workers down to the level of the West German steel worker, the Japanese steel workers, Belgian steel worker and the others who are importing steel. Now the long shoreman here and we on the West Coast know how much steel is coming in there is plenty coming in--that is the answer the bosses have to this. But in our union bulletins and the people's world we said we have the different kind of answer.

We say that the long shoreman participated in Pacific basin conference of longshore and allied workers which was held in Tokyo, Japan. One of the big problems that was raised there was how to raise the standard of living of all the workers equal at least to those of the United States, when we speak like this to other longshoreman and other workers....and they understand the need for that basis of international solidarity of labor and why we sent a delegation and spent all that money all that does money. How come, they say, are we taking all that our money and sending them guys on a junket to Japan. I'd like to go myself they say--that is what they say at first, but how was explanations made--that does it.

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Another example is in a question of trade with China--well that means jobs; and we said this means a lessening of the cold war tensions, and a better world. We don't have to be so afraid like we were. So when we proceed on this basis then we began to do something. We are not just putting declarations in our mouths--we are doing something. We are raising the understanding of the workers and the people generally as to what we mean by international labor solidarity and what kind of international labor solidarity we have to have.

I call for mentioning in our resolutions the fact that there are peace forces at work in the WFTU is one of those peace forces at work, but that unit the final answer to this. We have to search for more ways and means and we are responsible for the American working class. There are five telegrams and statements we got from the people you know they expect something from us in return and I don't think they just want us to say Hurrah for you. They know we really appreciate them that wasn't the point. They want to see some action, they want to see us with our brains and our experience to prove that we know how to develop international labor solidarity and do all these other things that we are supposed to do. Let us get down to business and I think we can get someplace. Now have I a minute? (Chairman says "You're over but go ahead")

I want to speak about party morale--that's the last they had to talk about. I read in one of our discussions on how we have downgraded ourselves. Here again I want to say it is going to have very little to do with what we say about ourselves. It's what we get other people to say about us. Now first of all we have to have their confidence that we can go places. That's one side of the question. The other side of the question is to get people to appreciate us and what we can do and that's hard work! That's more than a resolution believe you me. You know we feel quite confident in San Francisco and in North California and the election campaign helped to do it for us and let anybody tell you that we entered it with full confidence, that we know



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what we were doing, that everybody was behind it. There was dragging of the feet, we were disunited and we had a factional figure believe you me. We licked it and do you know what helped us lick that factional fight in our party, the election campaign! You bet you--we got to work and the wrong comrades yap, those that saw things the wrong way. The majority of them saw that they were wrong. They saw that that policy was wrong--the majority of the comrades. Then we had all sorts of ex's and friends etc who used to meet me on the job and say "well what's the latest?" and "what do you hear from the 9th floor?" That's the kind of stuff they gave me. So I came right back and said "Oh things are pretty good" I got over fighting with them as I found out that didn't work; and then we went along with the election campaign and I said "hey, give me a buck" and they said "what for?" and they reluctantly gave me a buck to put out a leaflet. Then the first leaflet came out and we got some endorsements and we got some replaces etc and I said "hey, give me a buck" and they gave me two. That's the way it happened and then they quit asking about the 9th floor. There was 30, 40 or 50 people on the job who made it possible for me to be here, who contributed money for me to be here and I told them I'm going to call a special meeting when I get back and invite all the contributors and I'll give a first hand report to them at this convention. You know what the response was? They said they would be glad to come. So you say we've up-graded ourself this week.

That's what I believe, play it cool but firm, but firm. We are not giving up any principles and we are proceeding against all kinds of obstacles. We've got far to go, but the morale of our party has improved. We can do things now which we could not do at the 16th convention and I am sure that whatever kind of National leadership we elect they had better watch the gate because from week to week and from month to month there is going to be changes and we are going to demand of them that they watch their changes and that they coordinate the work of the party throughout the entire country.

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Look what we've had here, we've had reports from every district in the entire country of wonderful experiences--not just from San Francisco, from Washington and from other places, things are going on and things are improving. Changes are constantly being made and let's not get caught with our pants down. Now let me tell you here's our big solution to our problem, I know it's not the Marxist way, but there's one solution and that's the young people, yes the young people! and if I could tell you about the young people in that election campaign, now! Well anyway we've got two classes going. One teenagers and for young adults and there is going to be no more and we are going to recruit these young people into the party. There is a big space between our age and the young people coming in and that's a problem that will have to be met, but boy I hope we have a lot of those kind of problems.

Chairman TOOHEY: We are prepared at this <sup>time</sup> to present the report of the labor committee and with your permission we will again break into the speakers list in order to try to keep a pace with the established order of business. The four or five comrades who remain on the speakers list are not excluded. The list remains and continues after the presentation of the report.

Unman: Comrade chairman I want to make a motion before we break if that is permissible that all committees be called in for the purpose of hearing this report than they can go back out.

Chairman TOOHEY: We will do it this way then. We will have a two minute break but don't leave because our job is to get others that are out in and the comrades should notify the committee people to please come in for the report.

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Chairman: Calls convention to order, calls for comrades to be seated--Anyone remaining on his feet will be interfering with the orderly business of the convention. Immediately following the forthcoming report of the Trade Union Committee the convention will then adjourn for its (last?) session. Because of that I would like, at this moment, to make several announcements. The committee on Peace is remaining in the building at the conclusion of this session for a continuation of their meeting. And they want a fast raising of hands of the members of that committee so that lunch can be ordered. Calls for a count of those people. Somebody says "I see four hands".

Immediately upon adjournment the Youth Committee will adjourn to room 929 of the Hotel. if any comrades were not here at the opening when comrade HALL recommended the creation of two additional committees, I will repeat. That a commission of Jewish Work has been set up with Comrade KLING as chairman and all districts are asked to add or send a representative to that committee which will meet right after lunch near the literature table.

A committee on National .....work with Comrade STACHEL as chairman was constituted and all districts so deserving will add a member to that committee and notify Comrade STACHEL.

Prior to the presentation of Comrade POTASH are there any other announcements that should be made? Yes, comrade.

Unman: Would like to raise a point on procedure. It seems to me the way the work of the committees has unfolded... many comrades and (missing the reports) and (they should be here) although it is recognized these committees are solving problems and are fruitful. (Voice from the floor largely indistinct.)

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Chairman: I think you are raising the question "Is adequate notification to the presiding committee to consider the question and do the best they can."

Unman: (Raises unintelligible question from the floor.)

Chairman: I am the chairman and I will place any motion any comrade makes. There is a motion made and seconded that the lunch hour be extended from one to two hours for the specific purpose of allowing committees more time to work. We will take a fast vote. Yes, comrade.

Unman; I would like to suggest--we are already  $\frac{1}{2}$  day behind schedule, and we will be sharply criticized for all the things we do not take up at this convention. Suggest the presiding committee try to work things out so that we do what is suggested, but not to do it piecemeal.

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CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: The next order of business is the presentation of the report of the Trade Union Committee that met last night. Comrade IRVING (POTASH) will present the report and recommendation.

IRVING POTASH: Comrades, after ARCHIE'S down to earth but sizzling remarks its going to be hard to play it cool. Now I have twenty minutes to give you a report of the Trade Union Committee meeting in regard to the Trade Union Resolution and also making a few remarks.

The Trade Union Committee met last night for about three and one half hours and we had quite a discussion. Sixteen comrades spoke and it was more like a small committee. Now comrades, we have seen many letters and resolutions and proposals with all kinds of additions and changes and elaborations on various points of the Trade Union Resolution. Many of those proposals were incorporated in the second draft of the resolution which you have before you. I made some comments under the impression that the second draft was the same that appeared in "Party Affairs".... We could have incorporated every proposal but if we did we'd have a big report and the central problems facing the working class at this time would be buried in details.

The resolution seeks to center the Party's attention on major problems facing our working class in two spheres - in a rather changing situation in our country and the world. In that context we examine special class relations and problems arising out of the situation in the labor movement.... We try to pinpoint the major problems and issues in relation to a counter-offensive of labor.... We considered the struggle for Negro rights, organizing the unorganized, especially in the South, independent political action, the struggle for democratic rights, and international trade union solidarity.

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The Trade Union Committee members, with the exception of one, expressed general agreement with the draft resolution. However, on the basis of a discussion that took place at the meeting, it is proposed that the incoming National Committee on the Trade Union Commission should make some brief additions to the draft on the questions of arbitration proposals to steel, the Landrum-Griffin Act, and support of the challenge of the ILWU with regard to that law, on problems of youth and women, in regard to the struggles on the problem of youth and women and also with being a potential force for the struggle for peace.

It was also proposed to elaborate on problems and programs of unemployed, on the importance of work in the trade unions as a central task, also on international solidarity with workers.... It is further proposed to accept the following recommendations from the districts to be acted upon by the entire National Committee on Trade Union Commission:

It would issue studies on the question of automation and the problem arising therefrom and the program of peace also and the role of construction unions and their contracts and their political role in the community. On changes taking place in the composition of the labor force in this country and on the responsibility of employers with regard to direct hearing in the trade union movement.. It is also proposed to publish pamphlets, material on the Landrum-Griffin Act and a fact sheet to document the Trade Union Resolution. It is also proposed to act on the proposals of the Northern California Districts farm labor questions. Set up a national farm labor commission. Study the problems and issue materials and pamphlets and if possible, assist the farming districts financially in activities in this field.

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Comrades, a few remarks on some controversial questions. First a word about the remark of Comrade WEINSTOCK. There was a difference of opinion in the Trade Union Committee on the inclusion of a section in the first draft of the resolution dealing with the work of racial trade unions and free trade union world federation.... in proposals to call Comrade WEINSTOCK a sectarian or criticize him for his views. He stated his views and others stated theirs and that was that. The problem is one of a realistic approach to this question. In the present state of affairs in the trade union movement there is no immediate prospect for serious consideration of proposals for unity of the two world federations, therefore we have deleted such a proposal and substituted the paragraph that now appears in the section on international trade union solidarity which I'd like to read. The commission (?) of various problems that this section refers to are greatly..... help to advance the welfare and .... of workers in all countries and develop cooperation and unity action between our union and unions in other lands. I would propose to add right here the following "unions in other lands including the unions affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the unions of the Socialist countries." Now Comrades, on the question of the "left" and let's check it. You probably noted that in the second draft of the resolution the terms "left" and "left center" are in it. The use of these terms without elaborating clearly the definitions of them could lead to some confusion with regard to our desire to encourage or ... on one or more issues that now exist in the trade union movement on the level of union leadership as well as on the rank and file workers. We want to cooperate and help develop all such ... in the trade unions. At this time it is not important to attach labels to these comments - labels that would tend to limit the scope or power of these movements. It is the essence of a correct line that is important. The concepts

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of "left" and "left center" can be stated without ... this we are trying to do in the section on the "reunite" of progressive currents of the trade union movement where we state that all currents in the trade union movement in a progressive direction should be singled out as examples that could advance the entire struggle. All progressive tendencies among the workers and leaders should be welcomed, encouraged and further developed for the purpose of promoting progressive action and class struggle policy on the major problems confronting our working class.

In this regard we are considering all of our present trade union leaders as an undifferentiated lot who can in no way be influenced or affected by the moods, motions, pressures and struggles of our working class. It is in this dynamic and realistic manner we must deal with the concepts involved in the terms "left progressive" or "left alliance". The use of such terms would not promote a clear understanding of these problems and the absence of such terms does not in any way meet a correct application of these vital tactics for influencing to be certain of an advanced and militant policy of the leadership in the trade union movement.

Comrades, I'd like to say a few words about proposals made for the second time in the last several years that industry and labor should meet to work out an understanding to avoid the strike. We didn't have a discussion of that in the Committee but we had other discussions which touched on this question and there are opinions on this approach to this proposal. It is our opinion Comrades, that such a recurrent proposal made by me and some of the others are by their ... of a general announcement that is harmful to the interests of the working class. In addition, to everything else at this time MEANY gives the Cold War as the result for such an understanding with the different Parties. It is based on the



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nature of a no strike pledge similar to the one we had in World War II. We had taken the position that MEANY's proposal is detrimental to the interests of the workers because it is based on the perpetuation of the Cold War because it tends to divert the unions from the reality of present class attack against the unions and serves as an obstacle to the modernization of trade union policies for a counteroffensive because the right to strike is not a question for negotiation. To negotiate the right to strike can only pave the way for anti-strike legislation that is now being promoted in the same way as MEANY's support of so-called mild reform measures... pave the way in the enactment of the Kennedy Landrum-Griffin Act. So Comrades, seeing that MEANY's proposal .... it is nothing of the kind. It is some bankrupt strategy that GREEN and others pursued with regard to the so-called "reform legislation." Some comrades say that we cannot take a position opposed to negotiation between unions and employers. It is our opinion, comrades, that such comrades are wrong. It is a naive estimate of these proposals which have nothing in common with legitimate negotiations on union demands - negotiation is not an abstract principle divorced from concrete realities and circumstances. First of all unions negotiate demands to achieve the best economic conditions possible. In such negotiations, the negotiators are at least under some control by the methods of the union. The results of such negotiations have to be submitted to the members for approval or rejection. In this case, however, the negotiators would be under no control whatsoever by the worker... it would become a danger without the workers having any voice in the matter and that is not the same as negotiating on anything else. It is therefore wrong to review means of proposal abstractly as a negotiation between a union and employers. It is a move in line with the austerity advocates among the Cold War spokesmen today.

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It is an attempt to ... away the right to strike instead of organizing a fight against anti-strike legislation. If the workers don't understand it that way we must do everything in our power to explain it. The fact that even STEVENSON has come out for anti-strike legislation serves to emphasize the danger to the working class that the labor movement has failed to develop a counteroffensive against big business. MEANY's tactics can only encourage war and such dangerous developments. We must do everything in our power to avail the maximum influence on the rank and file in trade unionists and on every honest and progressive force in the trade union movement for a broad fight back against all anti-labor legislation in line with the resolution report.

Comrades, we still have before us the major task of turning the face of our Party to serious and effective work in our trade union movement. By saying this I'm not excluding our task of working with other sections of our people but seventeen million of our working class are organized in trade unions today ... It is a trade union movement that is led in the main by leaders who had been promoting the full mobilization of all these millions and the strength of the labor movement to advance the interests of our working class, our Negro people and our country. Our trade union movement, if better led, constitutes the mightiest potential force for social progress in America. Our Party must therefore make that force of our working class the central base of our work and attention - the central base for the development of a united front policy for further economic social and political progress of our country. It is therefore from this source that we can and must recruit into our Party ... of our working class who will enable our Party to fulfill our task and to meet the challenge in this turbulent period referred to in the report of Comrade GUS. We are ... that the creative application of

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our general political resolution of Comrade HALL's inspiring key note speech of our resolution on the struggle for Negro rights and of our trade union resolution that is before you will enable our Party, our class and our country to move forward each for existence ... and social progress. That can be achieved if we make these documents a living part of the daily life and work of every one of our members in their relations with their fellow workers on the job, in the community and in the union.

ARNOLD JOHNSON: I just want to say a few words on the work of the Press Committee which includes Comrades SI GERSON, (SAM) KUSHNER and myself. The comrades I referred to are working with newspaper men and have been trying to get the news released to the press ... consequently we hold two press conferences a day, one at 10:00 a.m. and another at 3:00 p.m. down stairs. Our relations with the working press thus far have been very good - it is considering their various conflicts and things of that character - and differences of opinion... It is not only a matter of meeting with the press, but yesterday GUS had first a press interview for about one hour and fifteen minutes with about fifteen representatives of the press which covers all the wire services and all the union newspapers, then separately with all the major television stations with their equipment - and separately with each of the major radio services. Thus the Convention has been on television, on the air and in the newspapers... This morning Comrades, BEN DAVIS had a press interview with the representatives of the main wire services AP, UP, INS, as well as with the major newspapers in New York - and interview that lasted about one and one half hours. Again this cross questioning was according to HOYLE and in good form. Now just one point of explanation that is the purpose of this conference of mine. Yesterday noon during the lunch period I brought up here the people from CBS and I think

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some people didn't understand just what was happening. I know I want to apologize in that sense to any delegates who may have been offended. In this kind of a relationship every now and then you have to make certain kinds of adjustments in respect to requests and things like that. Our policy in the main though, is that the press and the pictures are not on this floor but on the floor below.

Early in the morning I brought up some of the people to take pictures of the scenery in here. If they're going to put it on TV or anything they have to see this scene - that is why at noon they came here and they took the scene broadcasting here, taking this tape and the movies and so forth and then put it on CBS in the evening. So it's in that sense that this business of telling everybody to keep quiet ... while this place is vacant. That will not occur today so you don't have to worry. I thought that this progress ought to be mentioned even though some of it is with a great deal of difficulty considering the fact that the material does not come out quickly and we have to meet certain deadlines with the press.

CHAIRMAN TOOHEY: The Convention will now adjourn till 2:30 ...

Afternoon Session  
December 11, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at 2:41 p.m.

CHAIRMAN: The comrades who are members of the Jewish Commission are now in session and comrades who are assigned are invited to attend. All other comrades are requested to take their seats. Due to the absence of the regular secretary who would ordinarily make the propositions of the Presiding Committee, the temporary

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secretary will be recognized to do so. Comrade ARCHIE for the Presiding Committee.

ARCHIE BROWN: Comrades, may I have your attention for a moment. If I'm run out of breath, it's because I was invited to meet with the Women's commission and the Women's committee and got involved in that and my wife was trying to speak so here I am.

Your Presiding Committee asked me to make the following proposals:

1. That Comrade EVELYN WIENER from New York shall be the chairman this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other recommendations? Those in favor of the election of Comrade WIENER please raise cards. Any opposed? Comrade WIENER is the chairman of the session.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: May I turn the floor over to the further proposals of the Presiding Committee.

ARCHIE BROWN: Next comrades the following: In order to expedite the sessions we are making a few proposals. These are - there probably will be other proposals later on - but these are up for consideration at the present time.

1. It is our thinking that there should be no meetings of committees or commissions during sessions of the Convention. Everybody should be here. Now in order to do that we propose for one thing that committees who need the time should meet at 8:00 o' clock

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in the morning, tomorrow morning for one thing, in order to give them time to meet. We also want to poll the various committees and commissions and find out how many of them need more time than that and what time in order to decide if we want an extended dinner hour tonight - in other words from one hour to two hours.

We are not sure on that but if the committees need the time, particularly if they're going to ... then we would make that proposal.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Is there a second to the proposal?  
All in favor raise their cards - carried.

ARCHIE BROWN: I suppose when we get through here the chairman can ask the Sergeant at Arms, or whatever we have, to go to the various committees and ask them to come in here and they might want to change that decision. I don't know. I suspect that the reason everybody isn't here is that they're not through eating lunch, also because there are various commissions. So we'll have to wait and see. I don't know if you want to ask them to go and get them and be in here.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: I suggest we have the Sergeant at Arms get the commissions based on the proposal.

ARCHIE BROWN: Now just for the information of the Sergeant at Arms the voters commission is way back behind the technical (?) rooms and you better take someone with you.

Now comrades, there is a proposal for a committee to visit Comrade JUAN ... RIVERA, the comrade who is the President of the Puerto Rican Party, who unfortunately was injured when on his trip here - when he

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got here rather, and was injured in an auto accident and is in the hospital and the Presiding Committee proposes a committee to go visit him and express our sympathy, of course, and the spirit of this Convention and give him the details of what is going on here and I understand he said that if the doctor gives him permission he is going to be here on Sunday morning in the wheel chair to speak. This shows the spirit of the comrades in Puerto Rico.

The committee proposes Comrade PATTERSON, JESUS COLON, PAT TOOHEY and Comrade SOL from Southern California as a proposed committee ...

CHAIRMAN WIENER: All in favor of the proposal say aye.

ARCHIE BROWN: All right comrades, now we ought to make proposals in connection with the committee reports. As has already been adopted, all committee reports after they are given and after their discussion whatever the time set up for them, then there is the action on the corresponding resolution and report - such as the Trade Union report that was given this morning.

We are proposing the following procedure:

That after a report is given then discussion takes place. If there are any amendments that are offered, these amendments, of course, have to be in agreement with the resolution, they cannot be contrary. Once such amendments ... these amendments are to be accepted in agreement with the committee and I'll explain how that works in just a minute. If the committee refuses to accept these amendments then there is another possibility and that is that motions can be made that the subject matter shall be referred to the full committee to be brought back later and recorded and brought back later to this Convention. Now in order to get around to finding

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out the question of whether a committee agrees - where most committees are pretty large this proposal is that the committee shall pick three, four, or five comrades, how many you want to be present on the floor here when action could be taken and they can vote among themselves whether or not to accept these amendments. Finally, the committee report is to be voted up or down. If voted up, well then that's it. If voted down, then the floor is open for all and any motions on the subject. That is the proposal of the committee.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: The proposal - is it seconded? All in favor raise the delegate's cards ...

ARCHIE BROWN: The final point I have is that when amendments are offered there is still needed the procedure of two speaking for and two speaking against and that will be the number allowed to speak and then the vote is taken. The question is how long. I tell you the truth, if your committee did not consider that I think there ought to be a proposal on it.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: First, the proposal on how to handle amendments and time limit is five minutes with two for and two against.

UNFEMALE FROM FLOOR: What this means is that the speaker is cut off - does the Presiding Committee have any proposals on that?

ARCHIE BROWN: We're not proposing to cut off the speakers but you are probably correct that the comrades who are in line for speaking may not want to speak on the amendments but the speakers list will not be suspended. In other words, you get through with the amendments and there is more discussion, regular discussion, there is still seven minutes and you go on with the speakers list.



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CHAIRMAN WIENER: All in favor say aye. Any further questions? We'll vote on the questions of amendments - all in favor raise their delegate's cards.

ARCHIE BROWN: Now that is the last proposal. I would suggest that the amendment be made to those comrades who came in late. Relative to the question that everybody is to attend the Convention when it is in session, there are to be no committee meetings during that time.

UNMALE FROM FLOOR: I came in late. Let me pose the question - maybe Comrade BROWN can straighten it out. As I understand it, there is a general speakers list that carries over and that these reports as it were are being ... general discussion. Now your proposal which is adopted was that each report is voted on at the expiration of the specific time - well it seems some of the people on your list may not want to speak on the report and on the other hand, people who want to speak say who want to speak on the trade union question, who are down on your list, will speak on the trade union question or any other questions after the vote has taken place. Is there any way that that can be dealt with?

ARCHIE BROWN: Yeah, I think ... a good suggestion has been made. For example, right now the report on trade union work and in about an hour or so we're going to start moving - you know, hold a discussion and vote on that report. It is suggested that if the comrade is on the speakers list and wants to speak on trade union work - please so notify us either now or state specifically that you want to speak on trade union work and we will re-arrange it if we possibly can.

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CHAIRMAN WIENER: All right comrades. We are now prepared to go on with the discussion and the first speaker is Comrade KRCHMAREK of Ohio followed by MILT ROSEN of New York.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK: Comrades, those of you who read this morning's issue of the "New York Times" noticed that the Ohio gang rides again. In the "New York Times" ... GUS HALL held forth up in Harlem and stirred things up quite a bit. Another Ohio boy gave them a rich story ... damnation, condemnation of some one hundred per cents down in Cincinnati who criticized him for speaking at a civil rights meeting here in New York. This only shows that we bring up our boys right back home. We bring them up on the old time religion and when they go out into the world, rather in New York or Washington, they don't get lost so easily. However, as one of the Old Roman Party organizers used to say, "I take care not to praise HALL or YOUNG neither have I come to bury them".

I arrive to speak on the steel situation. A half million steel workers are now engaged in a battle with the steel trusts and not only with the steel trusts but with the monopoly of this country as a whole. This is no shadow box. This is the real thing and while they had to force back into the mills under the Taft-Hartley injunction, the conflict has not ended but has merely transferred into the mills. At this moment from all the reports that we have from every part of the country, it is entirely possible that the strike will be resumed at the end of January, that the rejection of the company's proposals submitted on November 17 will be rejected by an overwhelming majority of the steel workers and from there we enter into another period.

The steel situation has within itself the element,

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all the elements, or at least the essence of the elements all ... situations, the relationships which are indicated in the draft resolution, in the key note remarks and in the trade union resolution. It has within it distilled essence of the general weakening of the crisis of capitalism. It reflects correctly the new problems that the ruling class of America is facing. It demonstrates or itemizes most sharply the attempts of the monopoly at this time against the people in order to bring the burden on their backs for the cutback in other areas. It emphasizes the role of ... industry in the life of the country and the kind of capitalist (faith ?) in how to operate in the situation. It is also a barometer of the level of the class struggle in America today. It reflects a growing sharpness of the class struggle in our country. It is a gauge of the new movement of militant thinking, of ... morale and elements of a growing class consciousness in our country. It shows something new - a class ... solidarity in the support of the steel workers on a scale that we have not seen in an awfully long time.

We ought to speed the pressure from below, from the rank and file and how they and what an impact they had on the top leadership. The top leadership was just unhappy over a situation that is developing now. The dialect of the conflict has brought important changes in the course of this struggle. What was essentially a defensive struggle ... has been transformed in the course of the struggle into a militancy, unity, spirit which was lacking in the beginning of the strike.

After four months of the strike the fighting morale is many times greater than it was at the beginning and the thinking that united the workers was not a positive program of thirty hour week or wages or things of that kind; the uniting factor was the eight point demand of

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the working group. Now this is a negative feature, but this negative feature has had some very positive results in the way that it welded the unity and developed the fighting capacity of the steel workers which is steadily rising. We have not evaded, we have not gone down as they went to work ... but now being fought out in the mills. The fight is on in the mills at this time. Everything is being done now by the companies to club ... method. I don't have time to spell it out in order to convince the workers that everything will be okay if they accept the company's proposals ... in the steel industry the question of our nation now emerges. The question that ... the working class of America emerges as a key factor and is in fact at the bottom of this situation ...

Production capacity at present is able to carry out in nine months all the steel that is required for the economy in our country and yet on top of that automation is being imposed. It is this that is creating the struggle. You take for example in 1952 a blast furnace, the most modern blast furnace was able to produce 1,200 tons of steel in one day. In 1955 there was a blast furnace that produced 2,000 tons a day. In 1955 a furnace was built that produces 2,700 tons a day but now republic steel has developed another steel without blast furnaces and is expected within the next five years to revolutionize the steel production in our country. Now the companies want the introduction of this feature of automation, of technological changes, with no interference from the unions. That's the central feature that is being fought out.

In the foreseeable future, one hundred thousand jobs in steel are going to vanish. This is what gives substance to the resistance of the steel workers, to their fight, they are waging their fight now in the sense that it is the fight of the entire working class of our

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country. It is not only the fight of the steel unions or the steel workers. This is the class battle. That is why I said it is a measure of the growing solidarity of the working class of the class consciousness in our country.

The vote will be taken in the early part of January on the company proposal. We expect that the vote will be overwhelmingly against. From then on the situation will develop quite graphically. First of all, it will merge with a number of other strikes, including railroads at that time. The bourgeoisie is greatly concerned about that and if you have followed the newspaper proposals are now for new legislation - not only Landrum-Griffin, Taft-Hartley - and by the way there has never been such a time that the Taft-Hartley - that such a burning anger on a piece of legislation as at this time on the Taft-Hartley - now new legislation is being proposed to take away the right to strike entirely ...

The economic struggle is going to merge with the legislative struggle and I think we have to see that because this undermines everything that has been said in the report in the resolution. And this will have its impact on 1960. And we have to see it and we have to present it to the working class. What this provides, what kind of opportunity for independent political action for the pressures in the democratic party for the pressures on the Conventions and so on. And if a guy like STEVENSON can come out and support the arbitration measures, the law, it shows what has to be done.

Now one thing that at this time is clear and that is that we feel at this time very keenly what has happened when the left was destroyed because it is at this time that the left is so needed and wanted, a crying need, a hunger for it in a situation of this kind. And

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where any initiative is provided by our forces, by the progressive forces, there is an immediate response. There is such a gap between what the leadership is able to provide and what the steelworkers need that any initiative from below now finds a mass response. This is the thing that we seek. And the battles we have been so weakened in this period is something that we are paying for at the present time. Again I don't want to spell this out in detail but this is something that we have to not only see that this ... but what new opportunities are present now. Frankly, we have not met these responsibilities, we have not been able to give the kind of help, guidance, initiative in the steel industry that is needed, that is called for, not only from the rank and file, from the leadership, because we are we now very boldly send our material to the presidents and district leaders and so on. They use them. They read it, they want it, and this is a new thing that gives the picture. And this period provides an opportunity for us to extend contact even if we are not getting to draw the people and we can draw the people and get them into the Party for plenty of reasons but we are able to expand our contacts with the people in all directions and not only the rank and file, which is the first place and the greatest wealth that we have but among the leadership. This is a new feature of the situation and we should be aware of it.

In this sense there is also, as far as our Party is concerned, we have to be very self-critical. We have not approached this new situation in the fact that the Communist Party must. As the battle of the working class at this time, have we made this an issue where we have gone into the other union? Waged it the way it should be?... solidarity and supported the steel workers? Recognized the struggles in its broader implications? In its political implications? In its implications

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of collapsed unity and collapsed solidarity? We haven't. We still look upon it as a department like steel commission, that it is a special responsibility ... the responsibility of the comrades in the steel areas but not of the whole Party. Now this, I think, we have to change. And we have ... a lack of that ... a lack of attention ... the coordination, the work that has to be done including all kinds of material and so on.

Comrades in the steel commission lead very sharp criticisms to make even on the question of putting out some material that was worth nothing by the comrades in steel and I think we have to change that - and I want to at this time very strongly raise the question about what the steel strike will mean in this period and what responsibility we have to do about it. We are moving now immediately on the question of the vote that is immediately. Then will come the strike itself, then will come the legislation and probably new laws and we don't know what else will come. But on this we will have to keep our ... I think one other thing.

There's a strike going on in Evanston. It is time we invited these things in our work, and where we have even questions for examples in Cleveland a lot of these organizers from the Henderson strike came in, they couldn't get any place with the leaders so our people took them and told them that ... and every union in Cleveland is moving to give food, clothing, and money for Henderson now. This is class solidarity. But following our locals, in Cleveland we are now against steel and you should see the response, especially that beautiful pamphlet that Henderson put out because they say we are next and when they see the militia, the soldiers at the plant gate they say this is our future unless we move. So this is building solidarity ... class.

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UNMALE (KRCH?): And I think that we every place in our whole Party from the Pacific to the Atlantic must be aware of this because this is precisely what we are talking about at the convention.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade MILT ROSEN of New York followed by DOROTHY HEALEY of Southern California.

MILT ROSEN: Comrades, this being my first National Convention it is inspiring to be able to participate in a convention of this kind. If the membership of our Party which played an important role of saving the Party at the 16th National Convention in confirming its needs as a Marxist-Leninist Party then this convention is surely a convention where our membership will play a decisive role in making this meeting or convention known as that convention of the Party of Party building of building the Party's influences in the mass movements and of the Party's growth.

Now, during the past 18 months the Communist Party of the State of New York despite the fact that our state was the main headquarters of the revisionists and suffered heavily of its ravages has been able to move our Party into mass work. I frankly participated in and helped to initiate and to expand all major mass actions that have taken place in our state - rent actions, housing struggles, peace..., school integration fight, and key industrial (strikes?).

Also in this recent period our Party has been able to help to initiate or the beginning of a Marxist youth organization which is a big step forward. Our Party in this period has made the beginnings of becoming a force in its own name by advancing the level of the mass movement, by advancing ourselves on issues and giving direction on many key questions of the day. Part of the reward or I think the tribute to our Party in the State of New York or in a sense of accomplishment was the excellent 40th anniversary meeting of our Party at Carnegie Hall where some 2200 people attended.

Think also of the BEN DAVIS campaign in Harlem which not only brought our Party forward but helped to consolidate it and build it and also ..... In the same sense ARCHIE BROWN was able to receive in the ..... campaign in Lower California



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which has also helped to elevate and inspire our entire Party nationally. In the upstate area of New York, our Party has been able to move its entire membership forward into the mass movements - into labor movements, into health development - a political perspective for our comrades in the mass movements. At the same time the Party in the upstate area of New York has made tremendous strides in re-establishing the Party in that area as a political force. So in no sense do I consider our activities in New York as a holding operation, but rather one of active participation in all forms available to us in the struggles of the day.

To be sure there are many serious shortcomings in our work, but as Comrade GUS indicated ..... we are looking for those new green shoots and to help them to grow. However, I think that in each stage of growth are many new developments ..... can be made because growth itself creates motion and stimulates activities elsewhere. New developments are not a thing unto themselves and so if we wait for complete maturity to come to be without working and utilizing the developments as they occur correctly its growth may be stunted and its fruits somewhat dry. Well, that takes me out of the garden. Sometimes we do not always see new green developings because we are looking around someplace else. As Comrade ARCHIE indicated in the report sometimes we are looking up in the sky, and so we just might walk by that little green shoot, or we might tramp on it because we did not see it, you see. And I think that in this sense our Party nationally and in our own state and myself as a leader in the Party of that state were a little slow in reacting to the single greatest peace action of our time that was the KHRUSHCHEV visit. I do not think that we saw it coming quickly enough and when it came we seemed to shy away from it. Our leadership seemed to be a bit inhibited or had some gun shy attitudes and did not see how it could help new growing peace development to come to its full maturity.

I think that to some extent the whole attitudes that exist in our Party which seem to say well some how we get into a spectacular and dynamic movement some how we are in the way .... of that movement. I think that is an incorrect concept. That our Party's special public role is

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some how .... (sectarian?) that prevents us from nurturing this event and answering those social (mouses?) which Comrade GUS spoke so well about yesterday because the social mouses are not only the people who left our movement ..... Social mouses are to be found in the ranks of the ruling class and in connection with .... among some of our labor bureaucracy that the want to kill will limit the effects of this magnificent event. So internationalism is as internationalism does, one of the comrades indicated at a National Committee meeting the other day and in this event we had an opportunity to play our role as internationalists not in the (abstract?) as Comrade ARCHIE indicates but our Party had a role to play to tell the American working class what this visit meant to them -what did they have to get from it - just as Comrade ARCHIE said jobs, trade and reduced tensions. This is the basis on which we can sell internationalism and this was the single biggest event of our time when we could have made our contribution there.

Now I think that the main draft resolution is a great improvement over the resolutions from the 16th National Convention, but still reflects great inadequacies in dealing with the labor movement and the Negro people's movement. Although the draft labor resolution has ..... made a big dent in overcoming some of these weaknesses. It does not base itself on these two movements which are the most important movements of our country and when it does draws estimates that do not provide us with a clear guide for action. Now carefully analyzing these two main movements where they are at, what problems they face in moving ahead, their potential to project anti-monopoly coalition .... (out of focus?) which Comrade GUS helped to correct by making his report yesterday. Our Party leadership in this past period has made positive contributions in maintaining and consolidating our Party but has not done so well in giving bold and creative leadership to the new developments in our country or in the international scene. It has not sufficiently seen the inherent dynamics of our own movement that our Party can grow significantly as an influence that can grow even in the labor movement notwithstanding the many difficulties that the ruling class has placed in front of us. I do not feel that it was utilized adequately tremendous resources and skills of its members and it has not by its own actions

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moved boldly amongst the people in its own ranks to stimulate and encourage and by its own example help to still fulfill our unfulfilled potential.

Our leadership tends still to be sensitive to criticisms and it is not able to utilize to the greatest degree the wisdom of its members. Self-criticism or evaluation of its political work for this past period has been far from adequate. Therefore, to meet the challenge of a new phase in world relations and an all out (attack?) against the working class at home more bold creative leadership is necessary utilizing and expanding the initiative of its members and developing a style and method of work which moves in amongst its people and propels Party further.

Serious political movements are often viewed through their leaders and here we can take a leaf from Mr. CASTRO in Cuba and I think the task master of them all Comrade KHRUSHCHEV who seeks constantly to be amongst the people to learn from them and to help lead them. One can learn from life providing that one is closely associated with it. Our Party will grow and develop in this next period fundamentally because of these reasons - the vitality and uncorruptibility of the American working class and the great Negro people who will not allow themselves to be trampled upon by big business because of the invincible power of the world Socialist movement and its Communist Parties, that the Socialist system is emerging as a colossus next to the sick and dying capitalist systems, because the American Communist Party will (master?) American concepts but will also see how international events alter or affect them, that our Party will develop that type of leadership which can best propel the Party forward under new conditions, that out of the thousands of alliances which we will develop and build a conscious (raft?) which will move these alliances to higher and higher political stages.

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WIENER:

.... DOROTHY, not here. O.K. DOROTHY is not here..... O.K., O.K., DOROTHY. Are

you ready?

DOROTHY HEALEY:

In seeking out the reasons for the swing in our line and our history of our Party about which GUS was speaking, it seems to me that one of the contributing factors has been a failure to develop the basic ideological elements present in a political line and each political period. To do it in such a way that there is a clear understanding in ranks of our Party as a whole why we have a particular position.

The struggle for the united front expressed in our concept of the anti-monopoly coalition which is the main question of our resolution is not a new one in the world Communist movement. Starting with the program of the Communist League in 1848 expressed further in the Communist Manifesto going through the united front program written by KARL MARX for the first International and continuing in LENIN's "Two Tactics for Social Democracy" where he advanced the slogan for a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants and culminating in the slogans of the Russian Revolution of Bread, Land and Peace, the search by the Communists for methods of uniting the working class on the long march to Socialism are apparent.

On what is the need based? On the recognition that the working class does not march as a homogeneous class under the banners of the Communist Party all during that long march on the recognition that different sections of the class and its allies for a long periods of the march are organized by reformist organizations, on recognizing with the fact that we must turn not only to the masses but to those organizations whose leadership is recognized by the masses. Part of the vanguard role of our Party consists in searching out those issues which unite the majority in assisting in the processes of moving that majority into action around their goals knowing that only through their experience can they discard that which is obsolete and search out for that which is new.

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The resolution projects the building of anti-monopoly alliance because by its very nature monopoly - capitalism comes into greater and greater collision with the vital interest of the overwhelming of the population. The historic tradition of anti-monopoly in our country has been present since the since the 1870's. Naturally, the anti-monopoly alliances of the 1870's led primarily by farmers is not the same as our perspective with the working class will lead the alliance. The fact that the working class is under renewed attack by monopoly has already been demonstrated. The fact that there is an increased social basis for the working class to be allied with the working farmer today has also been demonstrated inasmuch as the main exploiters of the farmers are the same monopolists. Further as power is more and more concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of monopolists the .... social basis of monopoly rule leads to an intensification of reaction. This attack can produce both a spirit and the organization of the anti-Fascist movement of the Thirties uniting the majority against monopoly's conspiracy against democratic freedoms.

We see the potentials of such an alliance possibly being expressed through the ultimate emergence of a mass party led by labor which could successfully challenge the monopoly controlled state power. Our vanguard role is further demonstrated by our ability to analyze the influence of the class struggle and class interests beneath the outward appearance of legal forms, traditional institutions and customs and conventions as they have appeared and matured in the United States.

We, Communists, have said many times that our main task is the application of Marxism to the United States, but some still hold on to the search for forms that are characteristic of other countries and not ours. For instance it is probable that the political action form of the AFL-CIO would have taken the form of a political party in France, or Italy or England. It is also conceivable that the various coalitions of classes and regional interests, historically and presently contained in the Democratic and Republican Parties would have in other countries taken the shape of other - separate parties,

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but we in this country, and there is no use bemoaning the fact, that the forms of the class and the mass struggle have not taken the classic form as it has in other countries. Rather our job is to see beneath the forms in this country in order to establish the content and the realities that are present.

Let me give two examples of this as it shows itself in the labor movement and in the Democratic Party. We view the unions as the real class organizations of the proletariat in which it carries on its daily struggles with capitalism and which it trains itself. But does this form, the union, guarantee the content? If it did, then obviously the (MEANEYS ?) with their class collaboration business unionism would not be the presidents of the AFL-CIO, but we know that in spite of the MEANEYS the class struggle continues and in spite of the MEANEYS the very form of the union as the real class organization will influence the content of its policies. The Democratic Party on the other hand is in its very form a capitalist party. Nevertheless any observer at the convention of the California Democratic Party would come to the conclusion that this was a convention of independent minded people as a result of listening to their debates and reading their resolutions, but we believe and correctly so that the present form in which these independent ..... people operate cannot for long be reconciled with the content of their political thinking. To quote GIL GREEN "The new is still imprisoned within the old."

Now I would like to ask for just one minute more to discuss the question that my friend, LOUIE WEINSTOCK, took up this morning in regard to Hungary and I can do it in less than two minutes let me guarantee.

WIENER: Is there a motion that Comrade DOROTHY get two minutes more? All those in favor say aye. Any opposed.

HEALEY: ..... can do it in three, LOUIE. When you are speaking on television and that hand moves around, they do not care whether you ask for an extension or not - you just do not get it. First of

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all, I think that it is clear from a full reading of what I said there in the three minutes on television that I had. That in the main I was basing myself on the resolution that was adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1957, and I notice that the same way it is repeated by Comrade KHRUSHCHEV in Hungary last week.

But let me say that in - not only in this television speech - in this last year I have spoken before hundreds of young people - college students. And LOUIE, it is because I am willing to discuss the errors of Communists that then I can discuss the role ... of operation .... in Hungary. Because I am willing to discuss the errors and then point out operation (?) it is possible then to get an understanding from these young people of why we believe the action of the Soviet Government in response to its obligations under the Warsaw Pact was necessary.

Our task is not to convince ourselves. Our task is to be able to try to win the understanding of our class and of our people. And I will tell you, LOUIE - I will challenge you to a friendly competition. In presenting these problems to our people, to our class, to our friends in America that it is through this kind of presentation that the basic questions of what is necessary to understand if even if what took place in Hungary of the need to secure world peace that was done by the action of the Soviet Government this will win the understanding and this will be the test of working class internationalism.

WIENER: ..... followed by NATE of Chicago.

MANNY BLUM: Comrade Chairman and Comrades, I wish to discuss first the question of the steel strike, and then the question of peaceful co-existence and the trade union movement.

In relation to the steel strike it seems to me that in a few months, the whole country and the labor movement particularly will be faced with a test of its right to strike if the steel workers go out again and the chances are

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that they will. Before EISENHOWER went away he warned the steel workers. It was a warning to the effect that if another strike were called legislation would be directed against them. This position in the country was strongly buttressed politically by the position taken by STEVENSON.

The companies at the present moment are presenting very effective propaganda which is confusing many workers as to the advantages of their last offer and in many cases what holds the workers to the correct position is not so much their full understanding of the situation as their loyalty to the union which is very great and wide spread - that is loyalty to the extent that they understand the importance of a trade union and their union in particular. Now, the vote on the contract takes place on January 7th. This is about the time the President will be making his annual message on the State of the Union. This is the time that Congress will be opening and it is very likely that this will be the setting for a real attack on the steel workers, in the message and in Congress. And for this reason it is very important that the steel workers be mobilized to give the largest vote against the company proposal - that they have been intimidated and that the Party through all its influence mobilize the labor movement in general or do all it can to mobilize the labor movement in general where it has influence to defend through the steel situation the right of the workers to strike.

A second form of attack on the part of the companies to limit the workers from using their power to defend themselves against the coming attacks in relation to working conditions is the efforts of the companies to convince the labor movement to adopt methods of compulsory arbitration. In the Kaiser contract they felt sure of this although Kaiser in his supplementary statements said that this committee which was set up by the contract for labor-management considerations of problems relating to work rules and efficiency, he said that the union had given assurances that they would be reasonable about the question of such changes. Now, this indicates the danger and it seems to us that these are questions that we must direct ourselves to and warn the workers against for the coming period. On the second question that I said I would discuss, the question of peace and peaceful co-existence.



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And this involves the attitude towards STEVENSON, EISENHOWER and monopoly capital, and the anti-monopoly coalition. It is obvious that monopoly is divided on the peace question, and in a certain sense you cannot speak of the struggle for peaceful coexistence as involving an anti-monopoly coalition in the sense of a fight against all monopoly equally, because for one thing EISENHOWER differs from those who are attacking him so sharply in relation to Camp David and EISENHOWER is a representative of monopoly capital. And as we are struggling for it, that is the American people in general and the Party together with them, we hope and we are working for a situation where Camp David will be followed by a summit conference, a summit conference will be followed by agreements, agreements will be followed by treaties which come up in the Senate - treaties which will ban atomic weapons and so on. And when such treaties come up there will be the sharpest division and fight. Of course in such a fight we would support the EISENHOWER wing and those who are for these treaties or whoever the President is then against the others.

But on the other hand, on the domestic front STEVENSON, EISENHOWER and others are conducting the most stringent offensive against the labor movement and we are not going to support them on that. We are going to have a real anti-monopoly coalition if we can build it on that. So that we have to understand that big problems will arise here and see that we will be fighting on one front and not on another, similar in a certain sense or analogous to what is happening in France, where the left supports DE GAULLE against the extreme right on a correct solution if he implements it on Algeria but fights very hard against the domestic program. And here are opportunities for all kinds of errors, left and right. A right error if you see in these people because they go in for ..... - force him to further steps toward peaceful coexistence you develop illusions about them and see them in every respect leaders of a brave new world. Left errors if you see only the other side of the picture. And you get this with REUTHER too. Comrades, say well look what KHRUSHCHEV said about REUTHER, lickspittel (ph) of Capitalism. Well there are times when I might agree with such characterizations but they must not forget what else KHRUSHCHEV said to REUTHER. He said, well we have discussed

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our differences and at length, but let us discuss what we can agree about - peace and it seems to me that we have to remember that.

There was a meeting in Chicago to which some of our workers from Gary went where BRIDGES spoke and there comrades who opposed that meeting even though it was such an excellent meeting for peaceful co-existence because some of the leaders or speakers on the platform made anti-Soviet observations. Well if you expect to have peace without such people, you are not going to have EISENHOWER or anybody because there is a difference in having peace with the Soviet Union and loving the Soviet Union.

WIENER: Comrade NATE of Chicago, followed by  
Comrade MARTIN of Ohio.

NATE (SHARPE): Comrades, first of all, I want to express my gratitude for being able to attend this convention. This happens to be my first national convention that I have attended since the year of 1935.

I regret that I was unable to get here in time to hear Comrade HALL's report, keynote address, to this convention, however, from the discussion I feel that the keynote address that he gave has given us a lead in how we should conduct our work. The main question that I want to deal on is on the trade union question. Here is a question that is dear to my heart. I happen to be a member of a trade union, I work in a shop and I feel it is essential that this be discussed, that this question we have to iron out. What should be the policy in carrying our work in the trade unions. I think that this outline that we have is the best that I have seen over a period of years but still I think it needs improvement, because of the fact that it does not deal with a number of the questions sufficiently that we feel it is necessary to be dealt with. However, I think these problems should be solved and as we go along, and as we understand our resolution is only an outline to give us an outline on the way that we should work. We should discuss these questions further back in our districts and carry on the work that it points out and carry the work further.

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I want to mention the Landrum-Griffin Bill particularly at this time. It has been mentioned already, but here I think we are faced with a serious problem. A number of our people do not know what the Landrum-Griffin Bill has eliminated. That part of the Taft-Hartley Act where it is unnecessary to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit anymore. However, we still have a worse provision in the Landrum-Griffin Bill, where the Landrum-Griffin Bill states that if you have been a member of the Party for the last five years or any other subversive activities or criminal offenses you are ineligible to be a member of a union executive board elected or appointed. This comrades, is very serious. It is one of the things that we have to carry on a campaign against. And as one of the comrades, KRCH, has already stated, that they are preparing further legislation to be introduced at the next session of Congress. One is being prepared by Senator KENNEDY on mild anti-strike bills. This is actually for the purpose of preventing the workers from striking for their economic needs, to take away the weapon that we have to protect ourselves in the shops and carry on the fight that is necessary for our economic needs.

Secondly, the National Association of Manufacturers are now preparing a bill to be introduced at the next session of Congress to outlaw the union shop, that is, they want to outlaw the union shop in order to render the unions helpless, to give management the power to do as they see fit in the plants. Now I want to get to a couple of other questions in connection with this connected with Communists working in labor organizations. (They) have roles to play in connection with these bills as well as other roles. We must carry the campaign among the workers that we work among. And now a couple of questions as how I think we can carry on our work. We see on the wall for instance the thirty hour week, the fight for the thirty hour week, this is one way to some extent of helping to relieve the burden of automation. Automation is something that is brought by the needs of the manufacturers for their own benefit. Automation in this country is not for the benefit of the workers and in the Soviet Union they have automation for the benefit of the people, of the workers, but here automation is for the benefit of the few to increase

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their profits at the expense of the workers, and throw the workers out of jobs. They stated in the steel strike that it was endangering the health and welfare of the nation. They state this because they are endangering the profits of the big manufacturers. When they see fit to throw millions of workers out of jobs, they do not endanger, according to them, the health and welfare of the millions of workers that are being out of jobs and unemployed. We feel that this is also a concern of the nation and we have to carry on a fight to this extent.

I think that another fight that should be carried on by the unions that I did not mention last night in the discussion of the trade union committee is that the Communists in the trade unions should begin promoting work among the people that we are working with, calling for more trade with Socialist nations. For instance, this country recently cancelled orders of some millions of dollars worth of steel to the Soviet Union. They refused to let the companies that had taken the orders for stainless steel to the Soviet Union to sell this stainless steel to the Soviet Union. Our problem is to carry on a fight for trade with all nations. We feel that trade with all nations will begin to create more jobs because of the production that we would be able to produce in order to supply the needs of the workers in other countries.

I want to deal with one other problem and that is the problem of the worker. I think that one of things that we can also use, those of us that is working in the shops. I want to state this, that a number of the people working in shops, when we speak of the worker say it is impossible for us to carry on work because I am a shop worker. I have to emphatically disagree with this point. In Chicago where I happen to work, there were a number of other people working. We have a number of our people, our comrades, that go out to shop gates and sell papers and through this they are able to also, on occasions, to get sub to "The Worker." They visit automobile plants, a number of different unions, they go out and actually sell the paper. This, in my opinion, is one of the ways that the Communists can gain influence among the workers that we are working with.

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I want to give just a couple of examples of how a few of us actually did carry on some work in the union that I work in. I think that this will be interesting as one of the ways that we can spread the circulation of "The Worker." We happened to be going on a march to Springfield on unemployment, a caravan of us were going down. In this car I happened to ride in, I drove it myself, accidentally a "Worker" got lost in that car and we picked it up on the way, a carload of trade union members from shops. A "Worker" got lost in the car and we began to discuss it on the way to Springfield from Chicago. As a result of that we got three subs to "The Worker." At my board, where I happen to be a member of, we used to have Communists come out to sell "The Worker." Today, they can no longer sell "The Worker," at the board meetings of my union, primarily because practically every member has become a "Worker" reader. Yes, comrades, I feel when we carry on work of this type we can use the "Worker" as a means to help us carry on our Party work and in this way if we can build the circulation of the Party "Worker" and carry on work on the basis of the needs of the people, carry on fights in the shops we will be able to build not only the circulation of "The Worker" but we will be able to build the Party. Thank you.

WIENER:

Comrades, before calling on the next speaker, I would just like to urge that we cut the conversations in the back. It is very distracting to the speakers and the audience. Comrade MARTIN of Ohio, followed by Comrade DELL of Northern California.

MARTIN (CHAUNCEY): Comrades, with all the talk flowing around about the Ohio gang I do not know whether I ought to be offensive about it or be proud to be a member of that gang. The 16th Convention of our Party, as Comrade HALL indicated, in his report, decided upon the continuing necessity of our Party and the Marxist-Leninist organization. However, many other questions remain to be worked out. Particularly the question of the role of our Party, what is our role, how to express the vanguard role of our Party in the present work situation and the situation in our country. The 16th convention projected the strategic line of an anti-monopoly coalition. But a lot remains to be spelled out - what is meant by it, its strategic basis, how do we develop

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and unfold it. Well, it was hoped that the incoming national leadership would begin to develop, to think through with the membership on these concepts. Unfortunately, it failed to do it. And I think that this is reflected in our convention in terms of many problems which should have been settled over the last two years and in terms of the considerable amount of confusion on many questions which were reflected by many speakers of the convention and which is particularly widespread among our membership. Take for instance the question of the anti-monopoly coalition. Now, I think there is a great deal of confusion on this question and perhaps I might make a few remarks which would add further to the confusion. For instance it raised the question of tactics or strategy, is it a tactic or a strategy? All comrades in our discussion said it is an obstacle to united front work. All comrades said it is an obstacle to raising the question of Socialism - some of these remarks were made on the committee. There is confusion as to the relationship of anti-monopoly coalition and third party movements. Does it come before or after the third party movements. And many comrades equate the anti-monopoly coalition with third party movements. I am not thinking up these questions, these questions are being considerably discussed throughout our Party.

Well comrades, I think it is worthwhile saying a word or two on the relationship of some comrades say that Socialism is our strategic aim and there is no room for any other strategy - our strategy is the achievement of Socialism. I think, comrades, we really have to find what we really mean by strategy or strategic aim. To my mind, strategy deals with a broad historic period. We work toward a strategic aim by bringing about a basic realignment of the class forces. Tactics deals with the avid flow of the movement to realize, to achieve, a certain strategic objective. Is it possible to have in the United States a basic realignment of class forces and still not have Socialism in the United States. I think it is possible. .... of a anti-monopoly coalition where the leadership of the working class would be a basic class realignment in this country. And yet it is possible that this realignment will take place without the political level having advanced to the point where we are ready to advance into Socialism.

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Comrades, I think the anti-monopoly coalition flows from the basic objective world and American conditions and it flows from our basic concept of the peaceful constitutional transition to Socialism. The transition to Socialism will not come about through a direct one fell swoop and you have Socialism as happened in the Russian revolution but it will take place as a result of a number of stages and a number of changes, as a result of a number of structural changes in the political structure and the economy of this country. Such has happened in many of the people's democracies in the way they developed Socialism there and they had to go through these stages even though there was the Red Army there. And I certainly think in our country a peaceful development to Socialism will require development by stages, development as a result of structural modifications of the economic and political institutions of our country. Comrades, I think, as DOROTHY indicated, the anti-monopoly coalition is not something we have invented, it flows out of the very heart of traditions of our country. I think the anti-monopoly is the unifying cement of all the forces of American life who are hit by the anti-monopoly coalition of our state and of our economy. I feel the anti-monopoly coalition is not an obstacle to united front work but a thing that without anti-monopoly perspective as a strategy, united front work has no direction, has no content and it gets lost in economism and I think it gets lost in drifting. I think our real problem is that we have to see the various parallel movements on peace, on the struggle for economic conditions, on the Negro people's movement, and work with such a perspective in each of these movements as to unify them and to merge them within the general objective set of building an anti-monopoly coalition and eventually an anti-monopoly government. Without such a perspective we cannot work with direction in unifying these parallel movements.

Now the question of the anti-monopoly coalition to a third party, does it come before or does it come after. I think comrades, this reflects a certain type of thinking of trying to blueprint the course of developments in our country and I will tell you all the resolutions this convention will pass will not determine whether the anti-monopoly coalition will take place before or after the anti-monopoly

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coalition. This depends upon the course of historic developments. Our problem is to see where the working class and the Negro people are today; their stage of development and the framework within which this development takes place, and the trends that can be strengthened and furthered. For instance, the UAW convention took a position on the question of a political realignment. I think that we should associate ourselves with such an expression and try to stress it and build(?) it and I think the big shortcoming of the trade union resolution for instance is that it is too much of a bill of particulars, an indictment of what is wrong with the trade union movement and not enough of an effort to search out those points of unity with which to .... associate(?) itself with, mill alliances and develop work. I think that it is too much a negatism of our work and not enough of an effort to search out the positive way of points of contact and relations.

WIENER:

Comrade DELL of Northern California,  
followed by PAUL of New York.

DEL (BERG):

Comrades, I want to speak on a section of the trade union question, the question of farm labor. I want to stress that this is probably the most critical and the most important trade union question that we are facing right now, and I will say that all the other questions that we deal with are just as critical. The youth and all these questions our Party has begun to tackle, all these questions I think are, ah, ah, from this convention it seems our Party is really beginning to tackle. But I would like to point out why I think the problem, the question of the organization of farm labor, which the AFL-CIO has pledged itself to do and has made a beginning in Northern California is probably a key feature of the trade union movement at the present time. The farmworkers constitute probably the last section of a large segment of industrial workers of a basic industry and this is an industry that has deteriorated as far as wages and conditions are concerned until it is tragic. The fact that the AFL-CIO finally decided to take on this problem and it is really a historic step - it is the first time that the major trade union movement in the country has taken it on as a national campaign, I think it indicates, in view of the fact of their



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reluctance to move on to any other question indicates that it is that serious a problem. Some of the features of it to begin with this is one area in which popular opinion is on the side of the labor movement while whereas the teamsters and all up and down the line in the trade union movement have been under attack and I think that the .... it is my feeling anyhow that in general the capitalists have been successful in beating a rather dark picture of some of these unions and have probably turned a certain section of the popular opinion against the unions. But the question of farm labor is one in which they cannot do that. It is not organized, there is no corruption in the unions, there is no union, so that it is not possible to throw all these things at it.

Also, I think that from the things that have developed in the last couple of years, the Washington hearings, if I am not wrong was last February, I was there I should remember, on the question of farm labor, the question of national public hearings that was held and in many other things, and the beginning of organization in Northern California has begun to mobilize public opinion behind the campaign. It is just the very beginnings of it. So I think the first point is that here is an area in trade union work or in the trade union movement that the trade union movement can begin to move forward and can begin to start an offensive. We are speaking of the steelstrike and all of these things, and they are certainly important.

Comrades, these are basically defensive moves. They may develop offensive aspects and it could turn into an offensive as far as the trade union movement is concerned. But the organization of farm labor is moving into a new area, one in which the labor movement has never attempted to move in a major way before and this means, comrades, that they are moving into the organization additional sections of the unorganized that we are speaking about, I mean we have got 17 million organized workers but how many workers have we got. So this means that the trade union movement is passing over to the offensive to that extent. Now I do not want to overemphasize or anything but the possibilities are there.

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How far they are going to go, how far it is possible to go, that is a question and I hope to get into it as I go along.

Another feature of this drive is here you have workers that are terrifically oppressed and are extremely militant. The problem is to develop the confidence among them that they can organize, that is probably one of the key features of it, is they feel that they just cannot do it, it has been tried time and time again and they cannot do it, course I am speaking particularly of the conditions in California and probably including Arizona and some of the other areas too. So that moving this mass of workers into action, I think we can say that we are going to move some new militant blood into the labor movement and it can have a real impact on this whole development that is taking place in the labor movement beginning to make some effort to fight back. So I think for that reason this movement is important. It should command maybe not the primary attention of the Party but it has to become one of the important features of our Party work.

Another point I want to make is that this is a national campaign. Northern California is a pilot program and I would say this, I do believe that the work is beginning to get on some real solid ground and the way the thing is shaping up now, particularly the possibilities of involving the left and our Party forces there and the position of our Party finds itself in because of historical reasons, the struggle that the Party has put up in these ..... on the question of farm labor and its activities in the organization of farm labor in the thirties, the action of the left in the Party and in Northern California is in a very strategic position and is able to contribute an awful lot in, and is contributing an awful lot.

Comrades, in this organizational campaign our Party is involved in a major way. It is making some real contributions. So it is not something that we are dreaming of doing or trying to get back into mass activity or trying to find ways to work with these workers, we are in it comrades. Another point I started to say is that this is a national campaign and once the thing is stabilized in California the thinking is to move into Texas or some other state and

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eventually to move into the South and organize the South, the farm workers in the South. Comrades, when you think of the organization of the farm workers in the South, you have to think of the Negro workers because in many of the states, the farm labor force, and I am not clear on the picture in the South, is something we hope to clear up so that we, in our commission in Northern California, get a better picture of the possibilities in the South and so forth, but, when we begin, when we think of organization in the South we think of the beginning to challenge the whole damn Jim Crow system in the South and along with the organization of farm workers in the South probably could be another campaign around the organization of the farm workers, a campaign to organize the South in general, which in my estimation means a complete rupture of all the whole Jim Crow system in the South, at least I feel it cannot be successful unless this whole system is challenged.

The next problem I want to go into, and this is a problem which we face in discussing it here in the convention is whether the question of the organization of farm labor belonged in the farm committee or belonged in the labor committee. We, ah, I participated in the farm committee and we discussed it in the farm committee. It was taken up in the labor committee and the action on this resolution was incorporated into the labor resolution. But comrades, the organization of farm workers is going to mean that a new force arises in the rural areas, a militant - (WIENER interrupts and tells BERG he has had ten minutes already.)

Unmale From Floor: I believe that this is probably the first worker we have had at the national convention of the Party in a long time and I would give him time to finish.

WIENER: I think the proposal is well taken. (To BERG) How much more time would you need.

BERG: Ten minutes.

WIENER: Ten more minutes? The comrade asks for ten more minutes to complete his report. What is the pleasure of the convention? All those in favor raise your delegates card. Any opposed.

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BERG: Comrades, I will try to move it along a little faster than that. The question of a farmer-Negro-labor alliance is what I want to get into a little. Here is an area in which we can bring down our thinking on an anti-monopoly coalition or an anti-..... oh, bring it down to earth. We speak of the farmers and one of our complaints in the farm commission is that it is bypassed all the time. This is one area in which, I mean, the organization of farm workers is in the interest of the small and medium farmers because they are oppressed by the monopoly forces that are the big farming interests and to bring up the standard of living of the farm workers means that you are also going to bring up the rate at which the small farmers are paid for their own labor and is also going to strengthen them in their ability to fight against this being pushed by (WIENER interrupts and asks the comrades in the back to be quiet as it is impossible to hear what the speaker is saying).

BERG: In their struggle against being pushed out of the farm picture by these larger farm holdings and corporation farms. We have to make the distinction on the part of the farmers between those farmers that are, those large farmers that are gaining from this push, this whole push of the reaction against the labor movement and the farmers too. The large farmers are gaining by this because the small farmers are being forced out and so leaves the large capitalist farmers in a position to monopolize the whole industry.

I have covered the coalition part of it, not as thoroughly as I wanted to, but I would like to point out one further thing before I finish and that is that the farm labor force even in California we feel is made up of, about half of it, is made up of Mexican-Americans and another quarter probably of Negro workers and the rest Anglos. So that you see in the mobilization of these workers and the organization of these workers, you have three things - you have the ability to involve the farmers and the workers, particularly the farm workers in a common cause, and also you have large sections of the minority peoples that are also involved in this thing and in a way you are in a position of fighting for their interests too. So what I

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want to say is that particularly in California in the courses as the thing moves into the South the question of support to the Negro liberation movement is a part of it. Thanks a lot comrades.

WIENER:

Comrade PAUL.

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PAUL SCHWARTZ: Comrades I don't want to get into a dispute with ARCHER BROWN over the relative importance of upgrading and downgrading but I think there is a difference between the way he speaks of almost winning people to the Party and do Socialism with both hands and some of the experiences we had with some of the leadership at the period of the 16th National Convention that would come into a club of basic Industrial Workers who knew very little about the situation within the Party and would say "Comrades, very bad. Gloom, doom, very bad!" In Jewish I would say smoorh (ph) meaning "Narrow, your life is very bad". So there is a difference and I for one can appreciate that difference and, that's the first thing.

One of the reasons it was possible, in my opinion, to spread this story of excessive weakness of our Party, was the fact that some of its best work of necessity removed unknown to large sections of the membership and to the public at large; and this, of course, was because of conditions not of our own choosing. In my own industry in NY we were able to help their conditions of Mc Carthyism I with much of our leadership illegal, to build a Party organization which has sunk roots into a section of the working class where the Party never had any ties before. This a group mainly of young comrades and Negro comrades as well as white comrades who are now passing into the stage of active leadership over several thousands of workers and I hope before the next convention we will actually get into the point where we are able to more openly build the Party and win people to Socialism.

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I am sure that the experiences we had are not unique although I understand they were considered a bright spot in a bleaker picture. Nevertheless, the fact remains that even under the period of Mc Carthyism we were able to sink new roots and win a new basis for our comrades providing they worked on it. With a young section such as ours which grew up in relative isolation from the Party was faced with very severe problems by the internal crisis as it developed. All of a sudden we discovered the healthy organism from which we were sort of like an outpost wasn't so healthy, and this was a real shock to us. It also revealed, I think a weakness in the way we worked despite the fact that we were internally united, we were rooted among the workers and doing many good things that people speak of and that was that in fact we weren't thinking of the problems of the Party as an organization and the fact that a single group, a single section, no matter how skilled and devoted its comrades are isn't going to make socialism. Not only isn't it going to make socialism, it isn't even going to change the farmer in its own union because that too is effected by the over-all political climate.

We began to turn to the Party and to make certain demands - in other words there were certain things we had to get from the Party. This included an overall estimate of what we could expect from the main issues confronting the worker so that we could get away from a almost insular point of view and we could begin to move the body of workers in this industry a little closer to an alliance with the merging working class movement in our country.

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I want to make just a frank comment on this. It seems to me that one of the responsibilities of leadership to our comrades who don't get to too many meetings is that you gotta help us understand some of these reports. Not that they are too long or the fact that they are written in unclear language, that's not the problem. The problem is that after a while they all begin to blur and run into one another, and they are full of assertions. The "we should" kind of reports, you know; that we should do this, this, this and this. Well, it's been agreed that we should, but in our section we've gotten around to a style of report where you spend about 40 minutes in trying to figure out what the situation is and in about 5 minutes you can sum up all the things you can do and of course you don't always get those things done. So it's not so much necessary. Concretely what it adds up to is this: that we going from one position to another or that when the Party evaluates the process of debate in pre-convention discussion will be very helpful if comrades would help ~~take~~ that process through. It's clear that the Keynote report by comrade HALL is far different from the Draft Resolution. It's quite clear that in our own industrial convention and in our State Convention we've moved a long way from that Draft Resolution and from the NEC letter. And this, of course, is a positive development - it would be very bad if we didn't do this; but how do you get from the Draft Resolution to a report like comrade HALL made? And how are we going to get from that report to an even better report which we are going to have in 3 to 6 months from now? That's an important problem. Comrades, and I'll ask those comrades who are in the National Leadership of the Party, "how do you do it, how do you get to the Draft Resolution,



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what were you thinking about when you wrote that and what are you thinking about today that you've written a report such as this?"

This isn't essentially, comrades, a criticism in the sense that you were wrong then and now you are very good, that then I didn't like you and now I do like you - entirely different. This is I think what you mean when you say a critical examination of your work - critical in the sense that we say 'where did it come from, and what has occurred that has caused such a change?' because if reports are written in this style, comrades, you reach a point where not only a handful of National Leaders are in a position to make their evaluations, but your Party membership becomes trained in the theory that  
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Now just one word about the trade union movement and the trade union resolution. Comrades, I think we are right in saying that the essential task before us is to defend the entire labor movement against the attacks. This is a complicated process and it doesn't only mean that the comrades in the trade union cadre themselves. It means our entire leadership, it means the open face of our Party, and it means the lows (ph) of the comrades in the various aspects of the mass movement. And of course in attempts to defend the labor movement we are going to find out a lot of things about this labor movement of ours. We are going to learn from the way the negro people that joy clouds (ph) exploded from many sections of the labor movement. You are going to learn from those people who (dig ditches, from housewives) that the unions can grab off certain advantages from themselves at the expense of many others who get caught in this inflation squeeze. You are going to learn from the youths, from the

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students and from the clergy and from many other sections of the intellectuals that there is something fishy about a labor movement which is prepared to accept an arms program so that its members can work even though it means building up tremendous stockpiles of nuclear weapons in addition to all these other blessings of modern capitalism (laughter and clapping) and it seems to me comrades, that some of these developments began to cast a cloud over the big positive achievements and role that our trade unions movement displayed; because after all the purest standard of American living which is the pride and joy of Wall Street has nothing to do with Wall Street but comes from the struggle of the people led for the most part by the trade unions, so that as a warring class party where the unions are near and dear to us, not only because the workers suffer when they are misled and we should discuss (ph) a little more about the cost of the new military of the the steel workers and what it means to be (out of work) for four months, during the present high cost of living, and not only because the trade unions and the working class became the care of our political movement but also because we are dogmatic enough to still believe that this working class is the only force which is capable of uniting the entire people in the struggle for socialism.

Just one word and let me wind this up in this way.

Speaking about the British elections. The English comrades could have written this for us. UPTON (ph) quoted CARL KOWSKY (ph) and he quoted him in 1902, 15 years before the Bolsheviks were even formed. He says this about the Russian working class: "The English

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workers of today stand lower as a political factor, than the workers of the most economically backward country in Europe, Russia. It is the real revolutionary consciousness in these latter that gives them their great political power. It is the renunciation of revolution and in our terms would be the renunciation for the fight for socialism that not only are injurious (ph) to the interests of the moment, to the so-called practical politics, that has made the latter a cypher in actual politics.

So it seems to me comrades, that our Vanguard role in relation to the trade union movement, which only we can answer, is to help explain not only that the bourgeoisie must try to destroy the unions, but what it is about the labor movement today, what it is about the people's movement today, that has made their tremendous inroads possible. In think in that way, and thinking about what KOWSKY said 58 years ago, we can begin ..... not only with the attacks of the ruling class but with this cumbersome bureaucracy with which they are encumbered and strangles their efforts to fight back.

GUS HALL: Well, I think that while the convention has gone along rather well, that we have reached the point now where we have to begin to exert the utmost of self discipline if we are going to finish this convention in time and still handle all of the questions. So I urge now that we proceed with the method we adopted, that after a report or sub-report has been given, after that section of the resolution has been introduced and after as much discussion as we can possibly have on it, that we come to a point of voting on that resolution, and it is our opinion that we have now reached that point on the trade union resolution. I would only urge that we can

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continue and conduct this type of an agenda if we have first of all the utmost of discipline and on the other hand if we conduct ourselves in a somewhat flexible manner. That is, that even while we vote on this particular resolution, that if comrades want to continue and keep the floor and raise questions in the Trade Union field after the next report, then that will be permissible and will be a continuous discussion in that sense. I think if we have that amount of flexibility we can put this type of agenda into practice. Therefore I would suggest that at this time we conclude and we vote on this resolution and following that we have the report on the work of the commission on the Negro Question.

Chairman ((WIENER)) Comrades, there's a proposal on the floor that we close the discussion and secondly that we vote on the resolution and report on the Trade Union question. The first proposal is that we close the discussion with the understanding, as was made by Comrade GUS that we can continue discussion as we go along, and the speakers list will remain.

Chairman ((WIENER)) There are ten speakers and we also have a list on the discussion of the Negro question and we will use both lists so --  
-- close the discussion. If there is a second (several ayes heard). All those in favor of that proposal raise your delegate's cards. All opposed. Any abstentions. Carried.

The second proposal before the body is to adopt the report as a resolution on the trade union question. Is there a second on the proposal (several ayes) all those in favor of adopting the Trade Union Report.

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Chairman (WIENER): Any opposed. Is there one there?

Unknown Woman: Comrade Chairman, I abstain,

Chairman: One abstention from the State of Washington. Any other abstentions. One opposed is that carried. Two abstentions, one opposed, is that correct? The secretary has it.

The next point on the order of business is a report on the Negro Question.

Several Voices: (Recess is shouted)

Chairman: There seems to be a popular demand for a recess, a five minute recess is declared.  
(Recess)

Chairman (WIENER): HY LUMER will make a brief announcement.

HY LUMER: Comrades, I wish to call your attention that we have on sale together with the other literature copies of the --- book concerning the KHRUSHCHEV era at \$2.50 per copy which is considerably below the regular price. We made it a point to get these because we feel it is a book everyone should read. I am sure those of you who have already read it will fully agree with that. So if you will, get your copies while they are here. Secondly, I won't to say a word about the pamphlet on the Party by E. G. FLYNN of which you have all received copies. The pamphlet should have been marked with the sale price of 35¢ which the printer left off. The pamphlet is available to the Districts for 25¢ a copy. I would like all the Districts to see me some time during the convention and tell me how many copies you want. Third

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point, we are going to press shortly with a pamphlet containing the KHRUSHCHEV farewell speech which a number of comrades have been asking for. This will be available to the Districts at a bulk price of 4¢ per copy. In order to know how large a printing to make we would like to get at least an estimate from each District as to how many they will take. So I want to ask the responsible comrades of the various Districts to please see me as soon as you can about these things.

Chairman WEENER): Comrades we will now hear from Comrade CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who will now report on the Negro Resolution.

LIGHTFOOT: Comrades, I was unable to listen to much of the discussion on other reports, but what little I heard disturbed me somewhat and reminded me very much of back in the days when leading politicians and office holders were allowing us to whisper in their ears. I had, a very prominent Negro Democrat to tell me, LIGHTFOOT, when I want to know anything about the world I come to you Communists. When I want to know what's happening in the nation I will come to you Communists, but if you want to know what's going on in this block you come and see me (laughter). I hope that the comrades who have come prepared to discuss the resolution which I am about to present to you, will not take the opportunity to pose thoughts concerning every question under the sun. Now comrades, I am about to present to you a draft resolution which in my judgment has been the most collectively discussed document in the history of the CP of the US.

For more than 3 years discussion on the basic

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outline by the American Communist on the Negro question has been going forth. We have had this question examined both in regards to it's theoretical context as well as many of the practical problems we fact in the course of our work. I am very happy to be able to say to this convention today, that the sub-committee which labored long and hard into the wee hours of the morning and then took off from the convention a few hours today, comes to this convention unanimously recommending a commendation to Comrade JIM JACKSON in particular, for the theoretical contributions he has made to our Party in the last few years. (Clapping) This motion was adopted by Comrades, some of whom were in disagreement with some of the material, also in the conclusions, but almost everybody recognized that here was the most genuine (example) of creatively probing into American experience, into American life, in order to bring forth a Communist position. So I repeat, I'm very happy about that.

Now Comrades, the document I believe you have before you in your kits, and comrades who do not have a copy of this document go into the press room, or whatever you call that room back there, and procure copies of this document. This document has gone through (numerous) (ph) hands, that may be one of its virtues as well as one of its shortcomings. Incidentally while some of you are getting your documents, that some of us don't like being called resolutions anymore, and I'm referring to the Negro Resolution.

The National Committee adopted a resolution and some theoretical theses submitted by Comrade JIM JACKSON several months or a year or so ago. This material was sent to the Party, and the present resolution was drafted in accordanced with the main conclusion of ..... from

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that discussion. It was not the intent of the authors of the resolution to repeat all of the propositions contained therein. It was not the intent of the authors of the resolution to necessarily provide all the argumentation for many of the conclusions that you find in the present draft resolution. We felt that this was a companion document to the basic theoretical theses that was already before our Party. Rather we tried to highlight some of the Key theoretical as well as practical (task) (ph) to make this Party make some very significant turns in respect to the developing and unfolding Negro liberation movement in respect to the Negro liberation movement in the USA.

The document was prepared and presented to the National Committee that set the main draft out. the National Committee discussed that draft and made some amendments to it. Then you received in "Political Affairs" a document, and just prior to the convening of this convention the National Convention set up a sub-committee to correlate all of the various proposals, criticisms and additions that had come from various state conventions as well as pre-convention discussion articles to reflect in the document that you now have before you. And it was on this basis that our limited version of the previous document was presented before a sub-committee last night and today, This committee went over this document for many hours -- the amended version and at the conclusion of the discussion I will now read to you in (story) (ph) form what the committee decided.

The committee wishes to present to you the following statement of principles. The committee urges the adoption of the political line and the main substance of the resolution



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before you with sharp emphasis on the following inter-related points may I say at this particular point that despite sharp differences, and divergent views this committee unanimously presented to you the proposal to adopt the main line and substance of the resolution you now have before you.

On one question there was a vote in the committee on the withdrawal of the slogan of self-determination. A vote was taken and I believe the vote was 13 to 5 to adopt it. But having disposed of this question, the committee was unanimous in its approach to this present draft resolution. The committee says the following in summary form in voting to draft the slogan of self-determination after lengthy and serious debate the committee was unanimous in its determination that this action in no way be interpreted as a detraction from the central nature (?) of the Negro question in America today. In this regard, the Negro question today is more central than ever before, because the objective conditions are maturing for the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the South as the prerequisite for any further democratic advances for the American people as a whole.

This substantial advance can be achieved within the framework of capitalism. The (?) forces for the achievement of this goal are: the Negro-Labor Alliance combined with all other pro-democratic forces. These forces must come to grip with and defeat the Dixiecrat, reactionary Republican coalition which looms as the immediate enemy and acts as the agent of the monopolists, who are the basic enemy. This will make possible a political rec---, will help make possible a political realignment in the country. The pro-democratic forces are objectively in opposition to monopoly, even

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though subjectively they do not always recognize this fact. The key basic issues required to unfold this struggle and which should guide the Party as a whole are as follows:

First, the question of organizing the unorganized four million Negro and white workers in the South, in particular, and an intensification of the organization of the working class, who are in the millions unorganized in the North. But central emphasis is placed in the South in respect to the perspective of the Negro liberation movement having a base for further gains and further support.

Two, the winning of the franchise for Negroes and poor whites of the South and a maximum increase, in Negro representation North and South. In this regard, in areas of Negro majority, the holding of police and governmental power, by the Negro people is essential if any guarantee of political advance is to be maintained.

Three, the struggle for equality in education, housing and jobs are basic national issues. That applies to every community North and South. The realization of this program in the South will require the fullest support of the Negro movement from progressives, white progressives, in and out of labor, and for the labor movement itself, and from all other pro-democratic forces in the North.

Within the context of comrade GUS HALL's keynote address, this whole program cannot be achieved without a basic approach or less initiative (?) within the main stream.

Likewise, the necessity of Negro-White unity which must reflect a much higher degree of White mass

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participation within the struggle is another vital prerequisite to its success.

Now in one form or another you will find that most of the questions covered in these additions or in the present resolution, but there was a feeling in the committee that some of it was somewhat diffused, some of it was not sufficiently tied up together, some of the sharpness in emphasis, at one point or another, was not there, and what we should make an effort to do just that as a consequence of the discussion we have here today.

Now, comrades, it is not my task to refight all old questions that have been before us in this discussion. But I should like to take a few minutes out to illustrate a little greater in detail some of the central propositions that were disturbing the minds of many comrades. Here and there over the country there has been great concern in the ranks of our Negro comrades, in particular, on the dropping of the slogan of the right of self-determination, and, comrades, even though some of us have disagreed and perhaps still do disagree, it is necessary to take into account what is some of the background which brings out such deep stubborn resistance to making a change in this connection. I think one is based upon a very faulty promise, that we ourselves made 25 or 30 years ago, at least at the time when I joined the Party.

We looked at the struggles of the --- thirties, Scottsboro, Herndon (?) struggles for relief, the organization of the unorganized in the mass productions industries. Communists played a unique role in all these struggles, reawakening memories of the old abolitionist days, bringing forward the type of contribution that had been buried with the old abolitionists and buried in the reconstruction era for all practical purposes. And we say that one of the reasons why our Party, unlike the Socialist Party, unlike any other political force upon the American scene, was able to make the Negro question the center and the heart of its work to --- America was because we differed from others in our interpretation of this question.

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We regarded it as a special question. And that our theory of the Negro --- in the Black Belt and the slogan of the right of self-determination was a conditional factor for considering the special aspects of the Negro Question. Now, I think, comrades, we have to be patient. You can't march people up the hill today with one set of phenomena, one set of argumentation and then ask them to march down that same hill tomorrow without explaining some of these questions.

Most of the Negro comrades who have opposed the deletion of the slogan of the right of self-determination were not viewing this question (in an abstraction?) or not viewing it of a slogan for the sake of a slogan. Behind it lies also an estimate that if our Party does not regard this question this way, then our Party will tend to downgrade the Negro question, and we will not give it the seriousness and the attention that is necessary. There are those who have raised their voices and asked is it not a fact that if the Negro does not constitute a nation in American Life, then what is it? A national group, a minority group, a national minority, what else said some. There were other racial minorities. Are you ---- therefore the Negro question with the problems of the Finns out in Minnesota, GUS? Or the Norwegians out in the Far West, BURT? --- other stratas of national groups in America even Latin and Spanish speaking Americans Is there in this question, therefore, are of equal import?

We who worked on this resolution and the committee which worked on it in the last few days are of the conclusion that it is erroneous to say that our Party cannot play the vanguard role, the leading role in unfolding and developing the special persecution of Negro Americans

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with the withdrawal of the slogan of self-determination. And if arguments were given in the past, and they were given, such arguments were as faulty as we came to conclude now that the slogan itself was faulty. What do we substitute therefore as a characterization of the Negro question in the US which in its essential differs from all other questions, all other peoples - elements within our country?

Some of us ----- definition in two or three sentences like saying "constitute a nation" and that settles it, ipso facto off that point comes a whole superstructure of other things - that the question needed- - and we have placed as you will see in your draft resolution, the following sentences or paragraphs, let me quote: "Page 1. Paragraphs 7 and 8. To conclude the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type? With what distinguishing characteristics? Calling for what strategic concept for its solution? The fact that the Negro question is not one of an oppressed nation fighting for national state sovereignty does not diminish the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States. Some of the proponents of the thesis of self-determination claim that in removing the slogan that we are denying the revolutionary impact of this question and reducing it down to mere reforms. This we deny. It is a special feature of the American road to socialism that the requisite preparation of the forces for --- so fundamental a social change in the system requires the completion of the bourgeois democratic norms of political, economic and

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social development for the South and the Negro people as a whole. In this respect, the Negro question differs from that of all other minority groups, thereby, still constituting a special problem independent of the thesis of nationhood in the Black Belt.

Now, comrades, it is a feeling of many of us that there is an insufficient understanding in the ranks of our Party of what some of us are pleased to call the centrality of the Negro question.

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If you comrades/speak, and they speak about automation, tax on labor, for example, I sit on the Illinois State Board and I hear a comrade, who gets up and he talks about your tax on the labor movement, and I sit there and I wonder this is all new. The comrade didn't raise a single point when MACK PARKER was lynched in Mississippi. The terror that has been visited upon the Negro people in the South is a secondary question, the attack on labor is what is the essential question.

Well, obviously one does not unrelate these two matters. ----- to discuss all the ---, the attacks on labor, peace, civil liberties, a whole --- of questions and then finally we get down to the poor Negro people.

Comrades, our Negro comrades in particular are saying that the day has come for this to end. Our Party has a duty to perform not only in its own understanding, but our Party has a duty to perform among the millions who understand less. And that is to do what comrade GUS HALL said yesterday on TV and on radio. And I was very happy, GUS, to stand in the --- on the side and hear him when asked by reporters how come you communists

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put such emphasis on the Negro question, ----- any slogans upon the banner, and these gentlemen asked these questions for --- sinister purposes, you are singling out the poor exploited Negroes, not because you are genuinely interested in their advancement, but you are singling them out because of their discontent to support some ulterior motive. And GUS placed this question to them, this is not a question along for Communists to place sharp emphasis on, but the basic --- labor --- and all the democratic element of American life can never realize what they are struggling for without the resolution of this fundamental question. This is the way GUS HALL put it.

-----, but this is what must become - the life blood of our Party. This what must be like wheat and bread and the food we eat as we go among the masses in this country. Now, comrades, how we do that? We'll do it in a thousand different way - in a thousand different ways. But the social question that was put and discussed quite concretely in the committee discussing this resolution was on the basis of self-interest and I submit that as we enter into the decade of the sixties of expansion of social vistas and social dreams, peace and all the others things that we have been talking about, as we enter into this great and glorious decade with its opportunities as well as its problems, there are historical experiences that we should find in a thousand and one ways to make clear to the labor movement in this country and other democratic strata. We should put the question----- through what we went through from 1832, all the way up to 1863 before we ----- that cost American lives, white lives, if you please, by the thousands. In the endeavor of capitalism to grow in America, in the endeavor of LINCOLN to save

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the union, in the endeavor to prevent this nation from becoming splintered, while --- placed the question that the saving of the union required as its watchword "the end of slavery", a ---- bourgeoisie compromised with the Dixiecrat South or the plantation Southern owners from 1832 up to 1863, and then LINCOLN found it a military necessity that slavery had to be abolished although the implication was there long, long, long before a Civil War had been fought. Missouri compromises, all kinds of compromises, other questions the principal questions, but the question of slavery is a secondary question.

As we look out at this convention. ~~at~~ the American labor movement today what is one of the things that stand out? Are of the things that stand out, comrades, is that labor yet does not regard the Negro question as essential to its own foundation and existence ----- in this country in the decade ahead of us.

Now we must change that. We must work to change it. We must become modern abolitionists, And we must show the self-interest of the white worker in this connection.

One hears a great deal about the twenty --- dollars that came in to the coffers of Wall Street as a consequence of the super exploitation of the Negro masses. But to tell you, comrades, when emphasizing this nature of the exploitation, it is paramount (?) that we also counter with the high cost of discrimination and the JIM CROW system in the United States today.

I heard Dr. HOWARD speak about his experience in Mississippi in which he said he was taken to a white hospital and he was told all the things that they had in



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this white hospital and then he was taken to a Negro hospital and he was told all the things they had in the Negro hospital and he said to them, "What a waste, of hospitals - you have to pay for JIM CROW institutions. It comes out of taxes. It comes out of many other things. I am not here trying to give a blue print but we are going to have to break down the cost of discrimination economically, not just in the terms of the moral aspect of it on a world scale in every locality in which we live, and as we unfold a peace time economy, as we unfold the struggle for disarmament and the problems of automation and the other related problems we will have to show how the Negro question affects the ability of this nations prosperity to be maintained independently of the 28 million dollars in super exploitation. Time does not permit for a future development of that, but I want to place that as a very central proposition and it can be summarized as follows: the Negro question in America is a principal question; it is not a tactical question; it's a principal question and if we don't regard it as a principal question we are going to make some very serious mistakes.

I recall during the war years our Party was probably one of the most influential victors (ph) in every Negro community throughout the length and breadth of the land, and because of our failure to understand that there was no contradiction between winning the war and winning the struggle for Negro rights at home, We subordinated the winning of the struggle for Negro rights to winning the war and in so doing comrades we lost good will in the Negro community that we have never yet recouped.

This, therefore must be uppermost on our minds, it permits no compromise. Now when one says ~~this does one~~ mean that

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we are going to say to every white comrade no matter where you are, what the situation is, you've got to jump up and put the Banner of Negro rights upon your shoulders ipso facto and in this way you're not compromising principles, that would be ridiculous, to say the least. We do not expect it, but what we should expect is that every white Communist would be conscious of the problem and perhaps you don't raise anything right now about a particular thing, but you are constantly probing and examining and waiting for the time and opportunity to arise --- to which a Communist can give this question a push in a certain direction. This is what is required and I want to make an illustration of a couple of white comrades and their work. I'm sorry to take your time of the convention but these things are part of what we were discussing: there were a couple of white comrades who lived in a neighborhood in which I lived which was turning over from a Jewish community. It was a Negro community. These two white comrades very consciously said the big struggle is not right here but is in a neighborhood adjacent to this, we are going to move out of this area over into this area, and we are moving there for the purpose of helping to break down it's white character.

Some of you are a little skeptical, based on experience you have known, Negroes move into a neighborhood white Communists flee too. As PETE put it today, they find all kind of reasons, their health is no good anymore they have to go to the suburbs, children playground are not adequate or a multiplicity of reasons, got to get away from there with the exodus of the others. These comrades moved and everybody I know, some now Party Negroes did not understand. My barber who is very close to these white people said, "I just heard that so and so white people moved over."

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I said yes, they moved but they moved over there to form a beachhead so that when the time comes we are going to have some allies over there that will direct things a certain way.

Well comrades, what is the first thing these comrades did? They didn't go over there and hang the Negro question on the top of their banner and say we came over here as the Vanguard Preaching for the liberation of Negroes. They went in and became a part of the neighborhood - they joined the neighborhood organizations, they became influential in the neighborhood; people learned to respect them, and then eventually a problem arose and on the basis of their position they have in these organizations this were able to enlist white people in the area to fight for Negroes rights to move in, which wouldn't have been if these Communists hadn't worked and oriented a certain way. The fact of the matter is, that I was over in my block the other day and I told my wife GERALDINE, I said GERRY they got to move again pretty soon because the block is half white and half colored, therefore, they have a job to go on somewhere else.

Well, comrades, we spell these things out in a thousand different ways so when we say the Negro question does not permit compromise that doesn't necessarily follow that we are trying to put straight jackets around everybody just for the sake of principles, would solve nothing, raise questions and do things, but as some comrades said today in the Commission meeting it is arrogant to think today that only white Communists are fighting for Negro rights. There are countless other forces in all fields of work and more initiative on our part can greatly facilitate the development of this struggle. Comrades, time does not permit me, and you have indulged with me but I would just like to suggest that there are a few questions that are not in the draft, was not

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permitted in this particular document, but the writer and authors were aware of it that he should take appropriate, steps following this convention to correct. First, there is no mention of Negro women and this will have to be corrected, youth will have to be corrected, I look around this hall and look at the age of us and I think this indicates the reason, why, one of the reasons anyway. There is also the question of Negro nationalism finding expression in the birth and development of the Moslem movement in the Negro community, which I believe in the original draft had something, but in my estimation totally inadequate. We have to have an assessment of this.

Let me briefly and in a few words say this, that the Moslem movement arises primarily and gains sustenance primarily out of disillusionment that many Negroes have with their white allies; this is the main purpose and the ferocity of the attacks of the Dixiecrats Southerners. Of course the liberals in the last congress facilitated this kind of feeling of desperation of inability to distinguish between forces that are necessary on the road to freedom.

The Moslem movement is gaining; I believe it has something like 70,000 members in the country at the present. They are building institutions, attracting Negro youth by the thousands; they inculcate race pride, but for us that are Marxist and communists, especially the Negro communists, we can not allow the conditions that nurtured the growth of such a movement nor the positive advance in race pride to becloud the fact that the proposals of the Moslem movement is divisive of Negro-white unity and will lead not to Negro freedom but to the

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LIGHTFOOT (CONTINUED):

Some comrades have become alarmed. They foresee now a possible trend when there will probably be the dominant trend in American life. I do not now think this is so. A Moslem movement may gain, yes and it will spontaneously grow through the weaknesses that are displayed by other forces. But the setting (Ph) of the Moslem movement in 1960 is not the setting of the GARVEY movement of the 1920's.

Comrades, in conclusion, one thing that we have singled out in the resolution as you will see toward the end of it is that what is basically new in Negro life that revolutionizes everything else is the emergence of two million Negro Trade Unionists. This has an impelling fact upon all strata of Negro people, all institutions, and though they are ..... by the lack of participation by labor in the struggle for Negro rights though they are organizing independently for the purpose of furthering the fight for Negro rights in the Trade Unions, there is tendency to get out of the trade unions. There is no tendency to seek a solution to the problem by the power of Negro action alone, rather they are struggling and striving with those who would be their allies to understand why these allies would have to join them and join this battle together.

CHAIRMAN WEINER: Comrades, in order to have the fullest discussion on the Negro Question, we have a list of people who specifically asked to speak on this question and we will be deferred the other speakers until later. If any of the speakers on the general list wish to speak on the Negro Question, please let us know but we will give first preference and time to those who have asked specifically to speak on the Negro question. The first speaker will be Comrade EARL DURHAM of Chicago.

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EARL DURHAM: Comrades, it is not exactly easy to follow such a wonderful oratory by Comrade CLAUDE, but I will try to develop my point as concretely as possible and advise in the first place to support the resolution by the committee, by the Preamble that preceeded that resolution and to just state my opinion that the way the conclusions were arrived at by this committee is in a lot of ways a model for our Party. The struggle on ideas that took place in this committee and throughout our Party is in my opinion, was conducted in a true Communist fashion. No holds were barred; there were comrades who had knock down, drag out disagreements. No comrade compromised on the principles of those disagreements but I do believe that there was give and take in the committee, just as there was give and take as far as the districts were concerned and as far as the resolutions that came to this convention. I think that point is necessary to point out due to the character of the struggle we have conducted in our Party to make room for the disagreements but also to come out with conclusions for our Party on important questions.

Now Comrades, I want to speak on one point Comrade CLAUDE made in relationship to the resolution on the Negro question. That Point deals with the self-interest of white America and the role of our Party in the struggle for Negro rights. To begin with, the Illinois State Convention discussed the draft resolution on the Negro question as appeared in "Political Affairs". The question of the role and the responsibility of White Communists in the first place but in white America in particular was singled out in our preparation for one convention and discussion held in special conferences, which included the majority of the Negro comrades in our area and this question was essential theme as a criticism of the first draft that appeared in "Political Affairs".

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We are happy, at least I am happy for myself, the other comrades will speak for themselves, that both the preamble and the discussion in the draft resolution by Comrade CLAUDE begins to correct the lack of emphasis of the necessity for our Party in the first place placing the question of self interest to white America and the role of the Party in that struggle as a central theme for the fulfillment of the aspirations our Party put and the Negro question.

It seems to me that in the past whenever we came to the discussion of Negro questions after correctly making our analysis, after correctly pointing out the new features of the Negro liberation movement, discussing in great detail the direction of the liberation movement, analyzing the various organizations of the Negro liberation movement, breaking down its leadership, breaking up its leadership in other places and determining the line and policy of the Negro liberation movement as far as our Party is concerned, we seem to think our responsibility ended at that point. To open it seems to me that this analysis is not coupled with the task and responsibilities and the problems of winning white America in the struggle for Negro rights. We used to raise the question that wouldn't it be nice or wouldn't it be correct if more white comrades could give reports on the Negro question which dealt in the first place with the responsibility of White Americans and responsibilities of White Communists in the struggle. I am not trying to underestimate the nature of the struggle of our Party has been in the last three years. The Comrades I went to see from districts, from individuals at this convention among the white comrades the problems and the struggles among White Americans, in white Trade Unions, in White Communities or what problems they are and how our Party can play a role in hurrying these questions into the forefront. In my opinion, there is too little discussion on this matter. I am also aware that Marxism and Leninism may be mastered by anyone with ordinary intelligence.

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The analysis of the Negro question deserves and should have the participation of our white comrades. I am interested in their opinions of what the relationship of forces are in the Negro community. I am interested in their position on what they should be doing in a Negro mass, organization. I am also interested in what they are doing in their white mass organizations and what role they are playing in mobilizing White people in the struggle for Negro rights because of the self-interest that is involved in that question. It seems, Comrades, that time does not afford the full development of this question. I just want to indicate that the major part of the discussion in the Illinois Convention was this question. It has been for a number of years the major question on the minds of Negro Communists. The Negro Communists are proud of the Communist Party and its record in the struggle for Negro rights. We are proud to be Negroes and Communists because we see the signs of Marxism and Leninism being a science to lead us to freedom. It enhances the unity of the Negro people; it enhances the role of the Negro workers because we understand their role and their fight for the unity and the liberation of the Negro people. There is a great concern on the part of the Negroes, comrades, that this is not carried over with the white comrades in their work in the white communities.

We are aware that our winning of this struggle depends on the extent that we are able to convince white Americans their self interest lies in the fight for the rights of the Negro people if we are to advance. This role is played by our Party and our Party alone, it seems to me, is the only organized scientific body that can convince, can win and show the correct road just as the resolution does, for its membership and their work in their mass organizations, and this the Negro Communists, believe me, detest of the mass line on the Negro question. In this period, in my opinion, will be judged by the Negro masses and the Negro members to the extent that this question is carried among the trade unionists then we will be able to judge and test the mass line and policy of our Party on the Negro question.



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CHAIRMAN WEINER: Comrade CLAUDE wants to make a brief announcement. He will be followed by Comrade BILL of the South.

LIGHTFOOT: I omitted to say that one of the recommendations before this convention is the establishment of a National Negro Commission to be composed in large part of Negro workers. The committee was unanimous in presenting that motion together with others I mentioned.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade BILL from the South, followed by JIM TORMEY of New York.

BILL FROM THE SOUTH: (HOSEA HUDSON)

Comrades and gentlemen. I arise to support the Draft Resolution and remarks of Comrade LIGHTFOOT because I feel, as one who has been in the heat of the discussion for the past three years, in order to draft this resolution and formalize a program, on the negro question in America. I want to say now that I feel proud of the remarks that are heard in the report of the unanimous agreement of the sub-committee. Because in my folder I was again confronted with another draft statement, which I must say I was fairly (fixed) on how to approach this resolution on the negro question, at the same time being confronted with these two statements at present.

I want to say comrades, for your information, that our Party with a basic program on the Negro question, is very much needed and will be wholly accepted by the Negro share croppers and tenant and rural (folk ph) in the South. I do not think this convention can measure the struggles that is being carried on against the (progress?) that is being gained by various sections in the South with many white allies; which we, in these past three years have been wrestling over this resolution and the question of self-determination for the Negro people in the black belt.

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I say this because, for instance you take in the South, in Alabama, we had at the 16th National Convention, as you know, the question of the (ph) ultra left among some of our Negro members. Some of these members of the ultra-left is still sending material into the South among many of our old comrades in order to try and confuse them, but I must say that our comrades are not being confused; but they are standing waiting for a program by the Party. They say they stand "on the (rock ph)", that is what I hear the old timers say. I want Marxism and Leninism, that is what they told an individual that went down personally and made a survey from this ultra-left group. Also I want to make known to you the importance of a program that confronts the Negro share cropper and tenant farmer in the deep South, particularly in Louisiana. In Louisiana, many of the old timers who are farmers and share croppers are today driven off the lands and they live within the controlled towns that are in the country side and they pay rent for these farm shacks and they are waiting for our Party and this program. I would like to say here that, our Comrades entrenched there long for our Party program and do not give up. I can explain in a short period of time some of the gains that have been made. The elections - they have had an election recently. We had in one area three parishes in (welords ph) where some of our most militant Negro leaders had the (support of whites). In one instance some of the white ministers came together along with the Negro leaders and raised money to pay for some of our people, went there to go through the area and help rise the Negro people to go to the poll to register in this recent election in order to become qualified voters in this recent gubernatorial election in the State of Louisiana. In the past, the Negro voters in these three parishes was 659. Recently there are 3,000 and some odd in this period of time. Not only that, but the JIM CROW practices on the city bus in such cities as New Orleans, Baton Rouge - no doubt you have read of it, but this is particularly some of the results of the struggles of the Negro comrades and their friends in these struggles, and they are also gaining concessions around schools, perhaps some of

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us ..... as one of the leading comrades told me, A few years ago when the kids had to walk 12 or 16 miles to school, they have been able to win public schools there, I mean modernistic schools. I know a school way out in the country where they had a conflict and this had been going on for three days when the mothers had been going in and serving meals and having to prepare the food at the school ..... the crowds were lined up (voice becomes inaudible)..... could not get into the school at all so therefore no one was able to get a better school. But as I pointed out before, these are just some of the achievements that are being achieved for the rights of education in the State of Louisiana as well as other places.

And I ask you the question, comrades, and that is "where is our next step?" The speaker from Northern California spoke about organizing the farm laborers. In Louisiana, not only is the small farm being hit but the middle farm is being hit. Farmers, according to reports, of 1,000 acres do not see what tomorrow is going to bring them. This year the main crop was cattle and corn. The price of cattle is at zero practically; the corn, there is no price for it. And they see not only that but they are working them off the land altogether as they buyin and buyin (corop ph) for the land and they do not see no way to pay it back. So it is not only the dirt farmer that is being driven out but also the milk and what we say the large size farmer in Louisiana is being driven out of the land.

And I feel here that this program, this is what we must do in our Party, in Congress and we must prepare our party to lead and guide the program to better the conditions in the South.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade JIM TORMEY of New York, followed by HAL (or CAL) from the State of Washington.

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JIM TORMEY: Comrade Chairman and Comrades. I had the great opportunity in participating with the Committee during the course of the convention on this resolution and I would like to say that I think it was one of the finest examples of collective leadership that has been my experience in many, many years under Comrade CLAUDE's and under Comrade JIM's leadership.

I think that the resolution is a major contribution to the thinking of our Party, and will be a contribution to our work as we discuss its significance. First, in the dropping of the slogan of self determination, I believe that the resolution correctly places the context of the struggle for Negro rights, and of the struggle for freedom, within the context of the completion of the bourgeois - democratic revolution. In properly placing this question as the feature which distinguishes the Negro question from many other questions in the country; creates a possibility for developing tactics in respect to various aspects of the Negro question within a certain frame of reference giving continuity and meaning to the specific aspects of the Negro question. That this was done in the resolution in relationship to a discussion of the anti-monopoly movements that have to be developed within our country, makes it possible for us to see that the relationship of the Negro question in the United States to the general struggle against monopoly by all forces within this country.

Therefore, in developing so well, both the separate and special character of the Negro question on the one hand and the other hand its relationship to the general struggle of labor and the people on the other.

Now the question on the struggle for Negro and white unity. I believe that we will agree that this is the primary contribution of Marxism to our thinking. That the ability to win the conclusion of the Bourgeois - Democratic revolution depends in the first place upon the solidarity of the Negro and the white, with the white forces playing a leading role in the struggle. Carrying the struggle

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to the white masses and especially to the labor movement. The interdependence of Negro and white freedom lies at the very foundation of the base of Marxist understanding of the Negro question. I think, in this connection, that it is very important that we show the significance of the attack upon the constitution of U.S. of America by a number of Southern States who have made it their official policy to disregard that constitution. And that in taking up such an issue we would draw the support of vast segments of the population, understanding this issue, bringing new forces into the struggle for Negro rights. I think it is necessary that in the labor movement and we ever are working to show the significance of some 5 to 6 million Negro people voting, which would lead to progress in this country. What would it mean in getting rid of the domination of the Dixiecrats in this country and the various committees in Congress. What the ending of the disenfranchisement of some 5-6 million would mean to the general struggle of the mass breakaway from the two Party system into independent political action. What the organization of the unorganized in the South would mean in a situation where labor is under attack by monopoly capital. These are some of the questions that are necessary to be spelled out in a program in order to show the white masses in this country where their self interest lies. To bring this question before the masses will create the conditions of a mass struggle - a vast ideological struggle against white superiority, white supremacist ideas and in the course of that, and in the course of actually working in the preparation of our own comrades, especially our white comrades to prepare them in the course of work to better handle this question on the basis of rooting out certain chauvinist thinking of which so often we capitulate.

In other words, Comrades, to conclude and I must conclude now, the struggle for Negro rights has to be an integral part of our everyday work, has to become a way of life (End).

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CHAIRMAN WEINER: Comrade CAL followed by Comrade (JOE?)  
from Northern California.

[REDACTED] FROM WASHINGTON (Possibly [REDACTED])

b6  
b7c

Comrades, first I want to indicate general agreement with the substance of the report by that committee dealing with the section of the Draft Resolution, namely on the Negro question. However, in the main the Party has had to overcome many of its internal problems over the last 3 years beginning from approximately 1954 to the present time. We are now, as indicated in our main reports and the discussions which have taken place here in the convention, in a position in the next ensuing period to make some of the greatest strides in the history of our organization. One of the major tasks in the coming period is the task of finding ways and means of advancing in the various mass organizations of the Negro liberation movement.

Another one of the major tasks that we will be facing in the oncoming period is the task of further exploration of the various theoretical aspects of the Negro question. Included in this new and thorough analysis of this question is the application of the slogan of the right of self determination. Recently the Party has submitted a document dealing with the theoretical aspects of the Negro question in the U.S. This document has been a thorough analysis of this question with statistics and facts which our organization has been lacking for many years. However, in my opinion, this question still needs thorough going analysis if our organization is to take the necessary steps in bringing forth to the Negro people and the working class as a whole a program which is theoretically and scientifically sound.

Our state organization in our State Convention took a position relative to this question dealing with the aspects of self-determination and if I may just quote in part from this resolution our position:

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'first, we are not prepared to abandon the characterization of the Negro question as a national question.' I might say we hear that the revised draft submitted here does answer at least in part; in my mind, this one objection. "While the resolution does not say this in so many words", and here we are referring to the original draft that appeared in the September, 1959 "Political Affairs" magazine, "we feel that it generally applies it in fact. Neither are we prepared to abandon the goal of self-determination in the black belt as no longer applying on the basis of the draft arguments for so doing ". May I indicate that in the committees' discussions I have listed as attentively as I can, I have read many state resolutions dealing with this question and I still do not feel that the term "self-determination" should be dropped from our draft. I feel that it is definitely still applicable and I do not feel that any arguments have been presented which would indicate that the term "self-determination" is no longer applicable.

Speaking from a personal standpoint, my own personal opinion, the question of advocating the right of self-determination for our people is not in conflict with the immediate program and programatic goals. Neither the revised draft or the original draft appearing in the September, 1959 "Political Affairs" magazine dealing with the political draft on the Negro resolution answers this basic objection sufficiently.

It appears to me that another aspect needs to be mentioned here, and that is the unfortunate situation that the Negro committee dealing with this important phase which is of concern to the entire Party was made up preponderately of Negro Comrades. There were only a handful of white comrades present on this committee and to me this is a very unfortunate situation to say the least.

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I feel the draft does deal in its positive aspects with the right to vote, and does deal in substance at least, with the question of the Negro labor alliance and the importance of realizing the forces involved in this alliance and the need for recognizing these forces, who they are, what they are, and where they are going. (End)

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade JOE of Northern California, followed by comrade GEORGE MYERS of Maryland.

COMRADE JOE (Possibly JOE FIGUEROA):

Comrades, I would just like to pick out three questions: One, the immediate subject matter at the convention on the Resolution. I think the contribution that has been made here will no doubt open up a whole new page, a whole new development of thinking, particularly of action of the Party in all its theaters of work, and I believe, particularly in the trade unions. That the comrades have made here an extremely valuable contribution. In raising this question, first of all, of how the problem is related in the interests of the white workers, I think there is glaring examples in many parts of our country that without difficulty of what it means in terms of jobs and conditions.. I can think of one instance in particular. The New England workers have suffered for years from the migration of the Industry to the South precisely because of their unorganized condition based upon a division of Negro and white, and based upon the oppression of the Negro people. There can be no hope and the repressive situation in that area is directly linked to this faulty situation in the development of the labor movement. Even in those unions that are progressive unions, even in those unions that still have a record of struggle and understanding in this question. In the recent fight against (proposition 18?), it is our opinion that this



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fight could not have been won, at least to the degree of success that it was won by over a million votes defeat of its (proponents?) had it not been realized, and I believe that with a special contribution of the Party, who in a limited way and in many strategic positions was able to influence the understanding, and the labor movement could not win that fight by itself, that it was necessary to lead the right to work with the fight for the FEPC and the State Federation of the CIO leadership has stated that FEPC legislation is still number one in the coming session in January and it was the first piece of positive legislation to come out of the California legislation this year.

In a recent discussion with some comrades in the Teamsters in which we went into this question of uneven development where some locals have Negro workers and some do not. This happens to be a local that does not. We raised with these comrades in the preparation for our District Convention in the labor draft presentation there this problem and the question was asked "how do we begin". The comrades said they can understand the needs for Negro-White unity, they can understand and will support the fight for equality, the Knuckle (ph) is the question of a job, and here the problem is raised "how do we do it?". That we utilize the general experiences of labor on this question. The experiences in the area. How do we link it up in the shop. Well, comrades, I will have to skip, what I wanted to emphasize this point is that we will have to exchange experiences, how this is being tackled, particularly in those unions where there is a complete lily white condition; and secondly, even in the more progressive unions we still have a problem where we are confronted with winning the white led membership on election of Negro led leadership. We have been making progress and there is a steady growth in electoral (outurn Ph), but even in this union we have not yet succeeded, at least in one of its major divisions, to do so and this is a challenge to us.

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On the trade union I wanted to make a couple of remarks, I see I have no time and I will have to cut it off. I am sorry comrades, but alright. (End.)

CHAIRMAN WIENER: We only have a half hour before dinner and I want to urge that we use the maximum discipline so that we can get as many speakers in as possible. Comrade CHARLEY will follow Comrade GEORGE MEYERS.

GEORGE MEYERS: Comrade Chairman and Comrade delegates. I think that the work of the committee on the Negro Resolution has proved to be extremely fruitful and I agree with the report joyfully because I think it greatly strengthened some of the weaknesses that had existed until comrades all got together and hammered away at this question. I just want to make a few remarks on a couple of points and I am going to do like comrade CLAUDE suggested and talk about what is going on in the block. First I am going to do just the opposite with a brief note, that I think the discussion is tending to more or less shift over the extreme importance of the Negro Question to the struggles of the colonial peoples and so on, but our Party is well aware of that and I just wanted to make that one point.

Comrades, I want to deal first with the question of the role of the border states in the struggle for Negro rights and in this whole struggle for strengthening this anti-monopoly coalition. There is being tremendous gains made in a number of border states, and it has been done both in the struggle for Negro rights and in a struggle to organize the unorganized and so on. It is not possible to separate them, and the beauty spot of this is that many of the people involved in these struggles were (brought?) into the border states for jobs back before World War II and are continuing staying in defense plants and so on after the war. Take Maryland, for instance, where just a few years ago

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the temper there was as rotten and as encrusted as anywhere in the deep South, in fact it was worse in some places. Some comrades told me it was worse in Baltimore than in Atlanta, Georgia. Well, today the schools today there are completely integrated and with a minimum of incidents and these schools today are integrated among the pupils and many of the teachers to one degree or another. This has made quite an impact on the people of Baltimore. There has been a terrific change in the housing situation there and there has been some victories in the field of elections, and victories in the fight against Jim Crow restrictions in hotels and theaters and restaurants. Above all, the unions there reflect a composition of Negro and white. I am going to get down to these points very quickly.

The thing is that many of the workers involved came from the deep South where very recently they have had strong ties. The white workers learned very recently that the gains they made were made by the organization of the unions. On the other hand, the Negro learned that it was possible to trust white workers because they saw that white workers could learn in their struggles for Negro-white unity. I think there has to be some way of reflecting that thing in the South as far as developing and organizing the unorganized in the basis of Negro-white unity. I think the same thing applies to cities like Detroit where there was an influx of Negro and white southerners into the industries there. Unions should be encouraged to take the message of Negro-White unity back into the South through these workers that have these ties there and often do down there.

The second point is the question of what happened in the Party over this past period? I do not think we are still sufficiently aware of the separation of the belt (ph) of the Negro and White members in the Party over the past number of years, and I think if we became more fully aware we will move more firmly to correct them. There are the points: Under the mistaken idea to provide security for Party members in numerous areas, the idea was put forth

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that Negro and White comrades should not meet together. That was the beginning of a very bad situation in Maryland I assure that. During that period, the white comrades began working in a different field and that separation has now just beginning to be overcome. It was more than just the false sense of security, it was the question of the role of revisionism and the long effect it had in the struggle for Negro rights and Negro-White unity within. These are the points I wanted to make and the chairman is getting nervous. I told her if she would poke me with that stick instead of getting up it would save a lot of trouble, but thank you comrades.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade CHARLENE from the State of California followed by Comrade HELEN from the State of Washington.

CHARLENE (MITCHELL): Comrades, on the question of self-determination. First of all when we speak on this question we have got to speak simultaneously on the question of nationhood; otherwise it is a confusing question. If the people are a nation then these people have the right of self-determination. I think that, since the draft withdraws this question and says the Negro people in the black belt do not constitute a nation, then it would be correct to say that the Negro people in the black belt do not have the right of self-determination. However, I still disagree with the comrades on this question. I feel that in many ways the resolutions up to date have not come up with theoretical answers to this question, of whether or not the Negro people in the black belt make up a nation. As a matter of fact there has been many discussions and as a matter of fact even some I have heard since I have been in New York, as to whether or not we are still going by (solid?) definition of what is a nation. I think we have to begin to clear up this question. Secondly, I want to go to one point

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that has to be stated, at least I feel it should. There is a resistance on this question among some comrades. I think it is incorrect to say that this resistance is a stubborn resistance because of all of the things that occurred, and of all of the correct things that we did while operating under this slogan. A number of comrades, believe it or not, are convinced theoretically and ideologically that the Negro people in the black belt constitute a nation, and I happen to be one of those people. If it were just a question of holding on to a stubborn resistance, then I think the comrades have a right to say "Come on, let's heave to", but you have got to do more than that, you have got to probe this question and not just on the basis of saying that it is clinging to a stubborn position on the question.

The third question I want to raise is on the resolution itself. I think that on the whole, except for the question of the right of self-determination it is quite a positive resolution and a better resolution than any we have received to date, and I think it shows what can happen when the Party begins to discuss such questions and what a better solution we can get to these problems. For example, I know that many discussion articles have been written on the question and so on, but actually we have not seen these articles that disagreed with the theoretical position that has been taken on the Negro question has not been placed before us, so I feel that in the main we must get to all these questions, especially during pre-convention time. Questions that are open for debate must be open and not just one position placed before the Party. I think, comrades, that it is very unfortunate that in the Negro Resolution as well as all the other resolutions that it does not deal with the question of youth and the question of women in the particular resolution. Because to discuss the resolution without discussing the important role of Negro women, we have got a very important facet of the Negro people's movement, so that what is happening is that in the forefront of the battle in almost every area in the fight you have the standing-

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out of the Negro women, and for the resolution not to deal with this is a very serious weakness and not one that we can sort of say "Well, it doesn't deal with it". But on the question of Negro youth we have special problems and they should be dealt with in such a resolution. But I cannot just criticize the Negro resolution on this point because it is the same question with all the other (resolutions). As a matter of fact we have been discussing in the resolutions committee on the youth question that one of the things we cannot do is take our thing out of the trade union resolution and out of certain other resolutions and say "Well, we associate ourselves, we think that this is good", but we have got to go to develop a whole thing because nobody enough of the importance of these questions to put it into their resolutions.

CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade HELEN followed by Comrade MILLIE of Harlem.

HELEN of Washington (HELLEN NELSON): ...

Comrade Chairman, comrades. I am a little unhappy about the remarks, some comrade here, who would like to hear from somebody else from Washington State. There are only six delegates from Washington State here. I know this is the first time I have had the floor. Since the adoption of the rules. Comrades, I would just like to make two points. One in connection with the remarks of Comrade CHARLENE. The youth commission were somewhat disturbed that the youth report was going to hit the floor sometime tomorrow or Sunday afternoon after elections; some comrades said we did not have to worry about this because some comrades said the youth question would naturally be discussed in relationship to every other major question. We did not, however, anticipate that this would be literally necessary from the floor as the resolutions roll

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by one after the other. I think that a Negro resolution, comrades, which says nothing about the magnificent performance of the Negro people and Negro youth in the deep South is considerably lacking. To emphasize this question of segregation, mass movements of youths are springing up in greater numbers in this country in both North and South are basis of Negro-White unity in both areas than any other issue in the country. I think the full significance of this should be recognized and reflected in the Negro report. Now it is clear that the commission intended to get in this later because I know comrade LIGHTFOOT reasoned that problems of Negro women and Negro youth would have to be dealt with. Well comrades, this business of time after time on every major question a special aspect of women and youth have to be added on the floor, comrades, this can no longer be characterized as simple weakness in our Party, it is getting to be a blindness (ph) that is bordering on disease (clapping). I think too that there is an aspect of that disease that has some validity if it is connected with other aspects but standing alone is also symptomatic of disease. Comrades, it is certainly correct to refer to the problems of Negro women and youth. They certainly are special ones; but to refer to this in the absence of a special role and strength of Negro women and youth in the entire is an aspect of the blindness. I think that the Party is also in need of recognizing as in the same stage, almost, of recognition of self criticism.

Finally I would like to say in respect to the Negro Report that I would like to associate myself with the comments of Comrade CHARLENE there, that, but in spite of that I won't take any further time. I would like to say the entire discussion on the Negro resolution, to the best of my knowledge, has been a struggle devoid of any element of factionalism. I think this is a tribute to the Party itself, but most especially it is a tribute to the Negro leadership of our Party on both sides of this question.

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CHAIRMAN WIENER: Comrade MILLIE of Harlem, followed by  
Comrade PETTIS PERRY of Northern  
California.

MILDRED MC ADORY: Comrades, I want to say that within the framework of this resolution we (have a good resolution) and we should put what we have got, which is a very excellent resolution, to task and we will grow with this resolution and we will develop and will find where the weaknesses are.

I want to talk a little here about the fight and the role of women, because I have not participated in this fight because I have had more important things to do. But the fight for the rights of women has become, during this past period, an important area. We suffer more, I think, than any other group of people, and I think we have to see now that it is an important political task of our whole Party to reverse and deepen their understanding of the fight for women. I plan to visit the credentials committee and get a statement as to the numbers of women here, although I do not have to be a great statistician as all I have to do is glance around the room and count noses of the Negro women here, but what I would like to know is how many or I should say how few Negro women we represent; because that is the question that I would like to address myself to; because I think that our Party is overlooking the importance of Negro women in this struggle for Socialism in this country.

I think that all we have to do to be a little more (.....) is to look to the South where a large corps of Negro women lies to see if Negro mothers are telling their children this is a struggle for the equality of Negro people and for the bringing forward of the American way of life as we understand it as Marxists, and when a mother throws her children into a struggle then we must say they have entered



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into the struggle and have become politically very mature (clapping.)

In the State Convention, I raised the question because we always talk about the age of our Party I am not old, but you know I am one of the oldest active Negro women in the Party. When you consider that this Party is 40 years old, you should wonder, Comrades, that why should I be one of the oldest Negro women in the Party. I think that these are some of the things that we have to being ourselves to .....

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MILDRED MC ADORY (Cont'd): We really must bring this ...  
to the leadership of our  
Party, National, State and in all levels of the Party.  
I just want to say that, you know, that ... you, as it  
were, well Negro women, well Negro women make less money,  
come home with less money than anybody else. I'm  
talking about Negro women as the key to the minority  
struggle and I guess I better talk for a minute about the  
role of men in this struggle around the rights of women.  
Because you see in discussing the women in the fight for  
peace and other things I have said to the women in the  
Womens Committee that we think that men have a different  
concept of the role of women; when they talk about that  
women feel more the war, women lose their sweethearts,  
women lose their sons et cetera. Well the same thing  
refers to men. And when the war widow comes up that has  
just lost her husband well ... already and we have got  
to begin to understand there is no custom that keeps ...  
that's more safe for them. They have got to become more  
sensitive if they are not sensitive. And when they begin  
to talk about education in schools, they got to be just  
as sensitive on education of our children and fighting  
for peace, et cetera as the women are, because it concerns  
the men just as much as it does the women. When we begin  
to take this approach comrades, I think we will begin to  
put our Party on the right road, not only on equal ones,  
but on the role of women and begin to get a political  
analysis of what is ... ideologically necessary to stand (?)  
the question of women on this group (?) including the  
question of Negro women. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN:

Comrade PETTIS PERRY followed  
by Comrade PATTERSON of

New York.

PETTIS PERRY:

Comrades, I want to speak from  
the suburbs of San Francisco ...

Ah! In the discussion in the committee around the  
question of dropping the slogan of the right of  
self determination, I was one of the five that voted  
against dropping the slogan because our convention in  
majority vote, voted that the question should not be  
dropped but should be held in abeyance. Let me say that  
it is now a majority. We have had the most thorough going

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discussion of all documents that have come out on this question and in the process of which we have ... comrades, no matter what side of the fence they was on to carry on the most thorough going discussion and study of the question. Myself I have never in the history, my history of the Party in that district, witnessed such thorough going examination of the question by a number of comrades. Well, when going further into this: comrades, it was a question of vote too, if I mean, if it had been a question of vote for holding the question in abeyance, I would have voted yes on that. But, when the question was no, I voted against it. Now in the course of this question of self determination; and the right of self determination, someone sent up a note asking was not this a change from the other resolutions and where does it differ from the slogan of the right of self determination. And this comrade had in mind particularly the last paragraph on page six to the top paragraph on page seven. I will not read it but just call your attention to it and comment on it. First of all, the right of self determination includes the right of secession, though not ... a nation is not obligated to secede from another nation, it is given that right. But what is proposed here and in the last paragraph on page six, to the top paragraph of page seven, is to answer the real question concerning us in respect to how one views the Negro people in the Black Belt, a nation of a minority.

The fact is that formulations in the draft that came out in the September P.A. (Political Affairs) was not fair enough on this question. For instance, they spoke of such things as proportional representation. I ask you how you apportion a sheriff when there is one sheriff elected? How do you apportion a district attorney when there is one elected? How do you apportion a tax collector when there is one elected? And therefore when you look at the area of Negro majority we have to have some approach, it seems to me, as to who have in their hands judicial administration and the main legislative board. And so this is what these paragraphs

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attempted to answer because otherwise how do we explain to the masses of people who on earth will protect all of the rights that we're fighting for in the area of Negro majority. Well let's keep in mind, also, that this area is the main area of terror, both economic, political and social against the Negro people - with the state being the main instrument of this power from your sheriffs up to your governors in these states.

Now a few remarks on the report of comrade LIGHTFOOT. First of all on the question of the illustration he gives with regard to what's happening in Chicago with a couple of white comrades. Well I would be very reluctant to adopt this as a main orientation of our white comrades because this is not what happened and this would be a kind of moving ... theory where a lot of our comrades would continue to move away from the struggle for Negro rights when they move into these all white communities and that is a damm good thing that takes place.

The second thing I want to mention comrades in these two minutes, that when we return to districts I hope we will take very seriously the two points that comrade CLAUDE made and I want to single these two out because of lack of time and that is we must press throughout the North for the Labor Movement to carry out its own program of "Operation Dixie" to organize the unorganized in the south as one of the key tasks of the democratic forces of America.

Finally, the question of finding the material ways and means to control major support before the struggling masses of the south for the right to vote, especially the Negro masses and this will go a long way in helping to defeat the Dixicrats, Republican ... that supressing the Negro people and the working class.

CHAIRMAN:

PATTERSON is the last speaker before the dinner hour and then we will vote on the resolution.

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WILLIAM PATTERSON:

Comrades I think that if the 16th Congress of our Party is known as the Congress, the convention that saved our Party, this 17th Congress is going to be known among other things in that it gave balance again to the Communists on this Negro Question. I believe comrades that the resolution that has been presented to our Party and the remarks made by comrade CLAUDE here today will fortify our Party throughout the land, will enable our Party again to play a leading part in guiding the struggles of the Negro people, in sharpening and strengthening the alliance between labor and the Negro people, and in developing united fronts around this question that will give greater impetus and greater moral strength to this struggle.

I want comrades to deal with a number of questions that were raised by comrade CLAUDE. Comrade CLAUDE here dealt with cause of segregation in each country and the failure to fight against it. I think, comrades that the major question can be placed this way: Failure of Negro rights retards and becomes a barrier to the completion of the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. And comrades the fight for Negro rights, the fight for the constitutional rights of Negroes is a fight for constitutional government and constitutional procedure in our country necessary for the completion of the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. In this respect and in this area you find its greatest contribution and its mutual interests with the fight for the rights of labor. Neither labor nor the Negro people as no other forces in our country is going to employ the rights of the constitution or our country, is going to employ constitutional procedure throughout our country until the rights of the Negro people have been won. As comrade CLAUDE dealt with this question and the necessity for the development of the united front around this question, to bring together all those who have mutual interests in this struggle, it seems to me comrades, that we have to go one step further. I think, comrades that this convention has got to realize that at this historical moment the Negro Question, the Negro struggle has three

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dimensional proportions. I think that this must be seen because I don't believe that the broadest possible united fronts can be developed unless this is seen. What concretely do I mean? The struggle develops around that specific question, specific event, which in some states and in some localities denies to a Negro his rights as an American citizen, his rights as a human being and on that locality in that state we fight to change the attitude toward Negroes as a whole to gain for that individual Negro his rights and to develop a broad united front. The violation of that Negro's rights is a violation of the United States Constitution, is a violation of his rights as a citizen of the United States. Therefore, we raise it to the second level of struggle, to broaden the united front, to bring those whites (?) of America from all sections of the country who are for the enforcement of the constitution into the struggle. First comrades this is a violation of the charter of the United Nations of the universal declaration of human rights. Who is in the United Nations today comrades that would constitute a united front of vital importance? The African, Asian Bloc, to mention only one group; the South American groups where the Negro Question is also from the oppression of American Imperialism a factor; and the socialist countries. Therefore, comrades this third dimension must be taken advantage of by us. In other words, just as the South African group has brought the question of ... to the United Nations we again have to see the forces in American life bring to the United Nations again the question of the oppression of the Negro people, which is a violation of the charter by the United States Government, and it is also a violation of the universal declaration of human rights and more particularly something we discussed in the women's group today, the question of a declaration of the rights of a child.

Now, comrades, these are the things it seems to me that have to be clearly seen. If I may make one last point - paragraph 3 of the resolution speaks of the oppression of the Negro people as having three

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characteristic features. I want to suggest here that a fourth characteristic feature be placed in there, and that is the conscientious degradation in every form of cultural expression of the Negro people in the theater, in art, in literature, in the scientific field, on the cultural front. Comrades, this is where American Imperialism gains acceptance of the myth of white superiority. Not every white American is affected by the economic oppression, other national oppression, the moral degradation of every white American is inherent in the acceptance of the myths of white superiority that are disseminated through these cultural channels.

CHAIRMAN: There are 11 speakers left who have indicated that they will speak on the Negro Question. Our proposal is that we continue the agenda as agreed upon and comrades who want to speak on the Negro Question may do so later in the discussion. I would now like to entertain a proposal for the adoption of the resolution and the report given by comrade CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

ARCHIE BROWN: According to the procedure adopted by this convention on committee reports, a convention gives the report and then if there are any amendments, these amendments are given from the floor and if accepted by the committee they are included, but these amendments cannot be contrary to the motion. If they are contrary, then of course, they cannot be included and then the vote takes place on the committees report. You vote it up or you vote it down. Should the convention choose to vote it down, then the floor is open for any and all kinds of motions, but first you have to vote on the committees report.

CHAIRMAN: Comrade CHARLENE (?)

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UNKNOWN FEMALE FROM THE FLOOR: I think that a motion to table is always in order and I think that that is the motion to make on this particular question.

ARCHIE BROWN:

Where is the parliamentarian?

CHARLENE is right, if that is the motion and I suggest that that the chairman entertain that motion unless he will ...

CHAIRMAN:

Just one minute comrades. Order.

NAT ROSENBLUTH:

- Wait a minute I have a question.

CHAIRMAN:

Bangs gavel for order.

NAT ROSENBLUTH:

It is not a motion to table. No, no. It

is out of the question. If the comrades from that district wish to make a motion to table they should do so. They have not done that yet. But that tables the whole committee - what they are saying and not just a piece of it. (at this point there were shouts from the floor and many persons spoke at once.) When a committee report is offered and motion to table, that to be in toto is in order: A motion to table part of that report amends the report and amendments to a report are not in order unless they are accepted by the committee. The only way that amendments can be made on committee report is by first defeating the report and then you may do anything that you please with the question. Until that time, before the house is the resolution offered by the committee.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR:

A question of information I would like to ask

the chair if it is possible to vote in support of the entire resolution and abstain on the question of self determination? Is it possible? (At this point there were many shouts of "no".)



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UNKNOWN FEMALE FROM FLOOR: Is it possible to  
separate the question?

NAT ROSENBLUTH: It is possible -  
a statement of voting  
for despite differences on some part. That is possible.  
On the other question of separating a proposition,  
that is an order.

CHAIRMAN: Okay, comrades, there is  
a motion on the floor  
that we separate the proposition that deals with  
(At this point the chairman was interrupted from the  
floor with many persons stating that this can't be  
done and again there was heated discussion on procedural  
matters.)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT: Comrade PETE I want to  
refresh your memory. We  
voted on the question of the proposition of self  
determination first within that committee. The fact  
was as I presented it -13 to 5. Then we proceeded  
to the resolution as a whole and at that time the  
resolution as a whole was accepted by the committee as a  
whole if you will recall. There was nothing about any  
parliamentary tricks in preventing this question before,  
because I knew nothing about that.

UNKNOWN FEMALE FROM NEW JERSEY: The question of the  
withdrawal of the slogan  
of ... is the key question here .. now it seems to me  
that the committee itself felt a necessity for such  
a separation ... there was a vote of 11 to 5 or whatever  
it was. I am sure a lot of comrades here would like  
to vote for ... just what the Party as a whole thinks  
on this question ... of self determination.

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UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I want to appeal to the comrades who worked on the committee. I don't think we want to be put in the position of any vote for the resolution as such, to force comrades who are not in agreement with the section on self determination to have accepted it in that light, so I urge that we separate the two questions, vote on one and then vote on the other.

CHAIRMAN: I think that recommendation meets with the desire of the comrades.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Comrades let me say the following. The proposal of Comrade LIGHTFOOT to be acted on by the convention is to cast a vote on the proposition of self determination and the known concept to be voted, and then to vote on the resolution as a whole. Understand fully the weight and import and significance of this type of vote. If the vote to table or the vote on ... it won't be a vote to table or a vote for or against <sup>dropping</sup> the question of self determination in nation concept, the slogan as such is without meaning. It is, you cannot have it both ways. Now if the voting is carried for the resolution as a whole, then the comrades who have voted against dropping the slogan of self determination, concept of nation, have registered for the record their views but are bound by no Party policy and on decision of the convention, the implementation of the resolution as a whole. I hope I have made myself clear on that.

CHAIRMAN: Comrades there is a motion on the floor that we support the question of self determination and that we vote on that question and that we then vote on the resolution. Now the vote on that question as I understand it - I just want to be sure, is that we do not come to a conclusion on the theoretical question, is that correct? That we postpone coming to a conclusion on the theoretical question, that is the motion on the floor. (At this point there were many shouts from the floor, apparently disagreeing with the chairman.) Will New Jersey please restate their motion?

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The motion is to separate the theoretical question from the rest of the resolution, that has been done. Now too the motion on the theoretical question? (Discussion followed) Alright, the first vote comrades is on separating the resolution. The committee recommended that we did it and this has been accepted by the committee.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I suggest that the comrades who want to vote on this question, please one of you get up and make a motion as to what you want us to vote on relative to the question on self determination and nationhood.

UNKNOWN FEMALE FROM FLOOR: Informant unable to determine details of motion apparently made.

CHAIRMAN: Okay comrades you have heard the motion from New Jersey. Is there a second to the motion? There is a second to the motion on the motion. Are you ready for the question? The question has been called for. All those in favor of the motion made from New Jersey raise their hands.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Let me ask New Jersey was that a motion to separate?

CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. The reason we are ... the question whether we want to separate or not is because if the committee accepted it it is not necessary to put it to a vote. That is why we are not... the question. It is separated, we now work on a substantive motion on the content of the separation.

CHAIRMAN: Comrade LOTTIE (GORDON) from New Jersey. This is a decision of our convention. We feel that the concept of nationhood should be studied further so that we can have a deeper understanding of all forces of society affecting this question. That is the intent of our motion.

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CHAIRMAN:

Comrades, the question has been called for. Shall we take the question to a vote now. okay? (Unknown male interrupts from floor. Informant unable to determine details.) Alright, comrade LOTTIE would now accept ... that in view of this we differ again on this action? Okay now we have the motion. All those in favor of the motion with the addition I just made, raise your delegates cards. (Count taken) All those opposed (Count taken) The vote was 82 to 26. Motion has been defeated. The original motion is now on the floor. All those in favor of the resolution raise your delegates cards. All those opposed? Four opposed, five opposed, any ... just a minute two announcements. 1) (interruption from floor) 12 abstentions, 5 opposed. Comrades, just two announcements, number one, there is a restaurant in the building the delegates could eat in. There are waiters and plenty of space right downstairs.

Just two more announcements, one by BURT NELSON and one by MANNY (BLUM?) for the Constitution Committee.

MANNY (BLUM?) :

Will the Constitution Committee eat as quickly as possible and assemble in the back of the room on the right. Now if you can do this we can finish up a lot of our work in a very short time. (Session breaks for supper)

EVENING SESSION  
DECEMBER 11, 1959

CHAIRMAN:

Comrades will you please be seated while the people in the back come up front and help us get started? I'd like to announce ARCHIE BROWN for the Presidium.

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ARCHIE BROWN: Comrades reporting for the Presidium we want to propose GEORGE MEYERS as chairman for this evening's session.

CHAIRMAN: Comrades there has been a proposal that GEORGE MEYERS from Maryland be chairman for tonight's session. Is there a second to the motion. All those in favor raise their hands. Opposed? Carried.

GEORGE MEYERS: Comrades we have got greetings here from TIM BUCK of the Canadian Party and instead of me reading them we will listen to them. "From the Communist Party of Canada on behalf of the working class of Canada I join with you in ... devoted to the ideals of democratic life along with all those who comprise the right to organize. I ... our Canadian Communists ... and I call for their release. I ... the change now take place in ... climate when I declare my confidence that ... of Americans will end this crime against the Bill of Rights in the very near future. I ... report submitted by comrade DENNIS on behalf of your National Committee. In aiding Communists ... the affirmation in your report with the heroic Communist Party of the United States as you are noting, the signs that a significant change is developing now in the world political relations.

Premier KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the United States gave dynamic expression to the growing of the necessity for a radical change to end the cold war. The agreement by President EISENHOWER to visit the Soviet Union and the widely agreement now that a Summit meeting must be held all combine to show that the advance towards policies of peaceful co-existence started by Premier KHRUSHCHEV's visit is still gaining ground and on a broadening front. The ... interests

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which have ... on a cold war are fighting viciously against the strengthening ... policies of peaceful co-existence. They ... the services of and the complete rejection of the narrow clique (?) of right opportunists who tried to disrupt our Party. Events have shown that the assertions of that clique were completely false. It's leading spokesman, who became renegade to Marxism-Leninism and its' Party, have ... themselves now completely in the eyes of all honest fighters in Canada for peace and socialism. In sharp contrast our Party's 16th National Convention was an inspiring demonstration of the ideological unity of our Party, and the supreme confidence of its' members in our world, historical science. In addition to recording the defeat of the revisionists and their isolation, our ... National Convention noted also, which has waged so many hard fought battles against political persecution and to advance the rights and the interests of the workers, the working farmers and the Negro people, have come now to still another test triumphantly. This was your tireless struggle to uphold the fundamental principles and lofty ideals of our world historical... Marxism-Leninism, against the revisionist attempts to undermine these principles with the Party.

Canadian Communists shared with you the struggle against revisionism and the attempt by the revisionists to destroy our Parties. Our own ... National Convention held during October, also testified to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism professional anti-Sovieteers ... but no principles, and far too many radio commentators, but the cold war is bankrupt. It's foundations are crumbling. In Canada recognition of this fact is becoming widespread. The rising demand for an end to ... for total world disarmament that the Capitalists and Socialists system should not be in peace instead of in war reflects a growing disillusionment with the effects of the cold war... The main result for Canada of her integration in the cold war is that United States monopolies now own and control the decisive sectors of her economy. The

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United States monopolies are extending their grip on Canada's natural resources at the rate of a billion dollars a year half of which is by reinvesting undistributed profits left over after paying dividends and bank interest. By integration with the military and economic ..... of the cold war Canada's overseas markets are being sacrificed, her foreign trade, has become dependent on the export of industrial raw materials and natural products. Under the pretext that Canada is a cornerstone of the defense of North America, our lands have been reduced in effect to an occupied country. As we Canadian Communists warned the people eleven years ago integrating Canada into the cold war has had to sacrifice of Canadian control over the economy of the country and has brought the situation now in which the political sovereignty of our country can be reestablished only if we face Canada from her ...integration in the cold war policies of the United States imperialism. Along with this... in the consequences of the cold war there is governing now a realization that if mankind allows world nuclear war Canada will almost certainly be reduced to radio-active ashes. The top missile chiefs of the Pentagon admit now, at least by implication, that the more effective and successful that the United States missile defense measures are the more complete will be the devastation of the heavily-populated areas of Canada. Thus capitalist disillusionment is beginning to merge with the deep and widespread desire among the masses of Canadians for peace. This helps to explain why it is that recently there has been a modification of the attitude of the Canadian government to solve the issues before the United Nations.

Canada has so far voted consistently for Poland and against Turkey to take the ... seat on the Security Council. Canada supported the action against the proposed atomic bomb test on the Sahara Desert.

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Canada participated in the proposals for United Nations investigations of the poisoning of the atmosphere by radio-active fall-out. These are only very ... steps in the direction of peaceful coexistence, are significant because a very large part of the pressure for these measures comes from the capitalist class. An important section of Canadian capitalism is demanding a change. Simultaneously however, the influence of the sinister forces in Canadian capitalism who seeks to maintain the cold war is to be seen in the fact that in the United Nations the government continues to participate in the disgusting attempt to fan the members of the cold war at the expense of the people of Hungary. Our 16th National Convention recognized this sharpening division within the capitalist class and ... working class movement to develop and exert the decisive influence in favor of policies of peaceful coexistence. The convention (defined) the struggle for total world disarmament as the key to policies peaceful coexistence and therefore placed the tasks of this struggle right at the center and the forefront of all the work of our Party in the period immediately ahead. We've struggled to be increasingly better or bitter in Canada during the recent past and for the same reason as in the United States. They have become increasingly bitter when ... against forces or favored policies of peaceful coexistence, no less than when fought against forces who want to maintain the cold war. Monopoly capitalists driving to set back the labor movement and worsen the conditions of the working class. In Canada this capitalist offensive is aimed first under the slogan of "Hold the line on wages." As we join with you in militant solidarity of the steelworkers in the United States I'm sure you will share our pride in the fact that the workers of Canada are standing firm. So far the workers of Canada have not yielded one victory to the capitalists offensive.



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Chairman (MEYERS): Comrade ARCHIE BROWN for the Presiding Committee.

BROWN: We're kind of lucky. These are on procedural questions. First, a couple of committees have asked for permission to meet during this convention. The Presiding Committee has looked into it and after the report by BEN on the 1960 elections the comrades can go out and meet. We'll make an exception this time but we expect all the comrades to be at all the convention sessions. So those committees will leave - whoever they are - do you know which ones - Constitution for one - the (Women's) Committee for another - oh, easy does it - whatever they are they will go out after BEN's report - number one. Number two, there is - we heard a report on Comrade GENE DENNIS, the doctor reported that he's had a mild stroke. (Delegates - Oh!) We are proposing a committee of two comrades to visit him; giving him our greetings and the progress of this convention. A proposal to send Comrades CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN) to see Comrade DENNIS.

MEYERS: You've heard the proposal Comrades. Is that in the form of a motion?

BROWN: Yes.

MEYERS: Is there a second to the motion?. Any questions. All in favor signify by saying aye. All opposed. It's so ordered.

BROWN: Now Comrades. In connection with the nominations and elections for our national committee as per

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the motion of this convention - for the action of this convention. Eight o'clock tomorrow morning the Presiding Committee will meet together with the Comrades from the district who don't have representation on the Presiding Committee - to take up this question and to bring a report back to this convention. So I understand the following districts are to select Comrades to a - one Comrade to meet with Presiding Committee for this purpose: Maryland, New Jersey, New England, Eastern Pennsylvania, St. Louis, Wisconsin, Indiana and Oregon. So that will be at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. So please meet on time.

(MEYERS): All right Comrades. (Question from the floor) - - - - elections (concerning elections). MEYERS: (In answer to question) That is the result of the decision of the convention - that each district add one comrade to the Presiding Committee for the purpose of the elections - that already doesn't have one (Unmale - from floor): that already does n't have one, is that the motion?

(MEYERS): That's right. All right Comrades we'll now have a report on the 1960 elections by Comrade BEN DAVIS (ph). (Applause).

BEN DAVIS: Comrades this is a report for the Committee on the 1960 elections. We held several meetings, and we arrived at pretty much unanimity on most major questions. Our committee consisted of: Comrade WEINSTONE (ph), who played a major role in preparing the resolution, which you have. ---

(From the floor): We don't have it.

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BEN DAVIS: Well you will get it, ; you should have it.  
It will be delivered to you now. Comrade ESTHER  
CANTOR, Comrade DOROTHY HEALEY, Comrade ARNOLD JOHNSON,  
Comrade STACHEL, one of our Comrades from Washington  
State, I forget her name, and Comrade RALPH (ph) who  
was Comrade ARCHER BROWN's campaign manager in that  
splendid and inspired campaign in San Francisco. Comrade  
ED CHAKA and Comrade SHEVRA of New York also.  
Now at the conclusion of our remarks, I'll ask Comrade  
RALPH, who is the Secretary of the Committee to come out  
and read to you, a few very brief (interlineations) in  
the resolution. I know Comrades, that many of you are  
asking --- that I'm making this report, that I had to  
ask myself in a sense - Because I really have not been  
responsible for this field of work in the National Office.  
So if anything I can speak with a certain amount of abandon  
(Laughter) but I so want to state, give full credit and  
commendation to the work of Comrade ARNOLD JOHNSON (ph), who  
has been carrying this field of work principally, and  
operating in the National Office, and it seems that in  
addition to the preparatory work of the Committee, and  
the Comrades that I named, that much of the splendid  
work of Comrade ARNOLD JOHNSON over the past couple of  
years; has made the positive parts of this report -  
possible. (applause) Now Comrades I am going to  
give a report which will deal with some of the concrete -  
some of the new developments, and perhaps they might be called  
helpful hints. This is an extremely important election, it  
could be decisive. It's very complex and very difficult.  
- And I think that the complexity and difficulty arises in part  
because of the fact that the sharp alignment between the two  
major parties, is disappearing, growing thinner all the time.  
So that in this complex situation it is very difficult for  
the people to find channels through which to express them-

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selves, and to express their vital interests in the major issues that face the country as a whole. Our task is to try to influence developments, and to try to shape up events as they are taking place right now, with respect to issues, movements and candidates. Now what are these issues?

First of all, I (think GUS) in his report gave the range and some of the main issues, which are central in the campaign. But, I will repeat them, I think we all know what they are:

Peace and disarmament, civil rights, labor and living standards, questions of civil liberties, and questions concerning our taxation. Now of course there are other issues, and these issues will express themselves in local ways, in various states. With respect to the question of peace, I think it is necessary for us to give extra attention to the question of China. The whole question of the admission of China to the "U.N." trade with China, and to combat the tremendous (aquitious) role which American imperialism is (clinging) toward China today, and special attention to the question of Latin America. I mention this because I believe we have a special duty in this country on the question of the fight for the rights of China in the U.N., recognition of China, and we have to take note of the tremendous movement which has grown, especially among the churches in our country, but in other sections of the population, which wants friendly relations with China, and which the present ----- attitude of the State Department, and of EISENHOWER himself with respect fo China, doesn't refelct their opinions. I think we have the first task of trying

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to help guarantee an outcome in the elections which will advance the interests of the country on all major issues and that - they will affect the general outcome of the elections with respect which candidates are elected both in the grass root spaces and for national office. We have to take note of three mainstreams of resistance which are developing among the American people today, they are certainly, civil rights in the negro peoples movement, the labor movements and its big and historic strike struggle and the whole question of the constantly deteriorating living standard in the country and the peace movement itself which consists of a broad variety of diverse opinions and peoples organizations in this country. I think we have a very difficult but very important task of how to weave together these currents in the election campaign itself, realizing that these currents are mostly independent and separate, but ways and means must be found through which we can play a very constant role in hoping to weave these currents together to work together, to strike together, to use the influence and power together in this election. Now are there any practical basis for us to consider that this might be possible. Well certainly first all between the Negro and the labor movement, notwithstanding certain very serious strains that have taken place in the Negro labor alliance. But it seems to me that we must see in the two youth marches which have taken place in the country we must see in the pilgrimage, a high degree of unity between the Negro people and the labor movement which were formed a very important basis of trying to work together in the election campaign. Now I think we have to take into consideration MEANY's (ph) statement, we ourselves know that MEANY and the labor movement ,

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if anything, is Mr. cold-war, but with respect to a recent statement he made to the Urban League he made, here in New York, saying that the common enemy of the Negro people and the labor movement was the Dixiecrats that this offers us the opportunity of taking this, utilizing this, implementing it and taking it off paper and carrying it to the labor movement, and finding ways and means, to bring together Negro people and trade unionists in connection with the election campaign. I think further that we have to look for practical and concrete ways for the Negro people and the labor movement to work out joint minimum programs on the question of labor and civil rights, to expose and discuss and examine to that extent they can find joint minimum activities and programs around the question of peace and disarmament. This, to me, can be done in communities, on city council levels on state levels, and there is reason to think that these things can all be examined from the point of view of trying to achieve something on a national level. The party has to, in my judgment, fight ideologically for the uniting of these currents and to work in them and to participate in them in the fullest way despite the fact that they are separate in life itself. We must try to develop a grass roots approach, that is on a congressional, state, assembly, and city council levels, as to how this can be consciously developed between sections of the labor movement and the Negro people in specific communities. (Due to the fact) we have to concentrate at this point in particular on issues and movements. And that the center of our work should be among the trade unions, the labor movement, the working class, the Negro people, in New York and particularly the

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Puerto Rican people and on the far west coast certainly among the Mexican-American people. People who are not struggling because someone pushes a button but today are in vanguard because they have to struggle to live, they are forced by events. I think in this connection in trying to affect the general outcome of the elections, that we have to develop a brand mass electoral line, designed to influence both major parties. For example it's quite possible that a very representative section of Negro leadership, representing various points of view among them will organizing mass marches on both the Democratic and Republican conventions in 1960 around the question of civil rights, which indicates a power and determination to influence both major party conventions, both with respect to their platforms, their policies, and their candidates. Sometimes it has been argued, well what can we do with the Republican party where the contact is very, very, small. Well I think that we have to think back to the nominations in 1952 in the Republican party. That the explanation given by the late Senator TAFT while important, with respect to eastern finance capital does not explain the whole picture. And there is no question that the authorship of TAFT, of TAFT-HARTLEY, following a powerful offensive of the labor movement against enactment of this particular law, was considered a very big handicap to the Republican Party, with respect to its ability to win over independent voters, sympathizers with the labor movement and even widespread voters from the Democratic Party and from the labor movement as such, so that (job done on this) had a very powerful effect on the Republican Party, so that in New York we have a specific responsibility with respect to the key role that is being

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played today in foreign policy in the Republican Party say by Governor ROCKEFELLER, and that a threatening complaint can have a powerful effect upon the deliberations and the course of developments in both major parties, and we should have a line designed to achieve that effect, to the best of our ability. Secondly, on the question of independent political action. It seems to me that our Party has a responsible interest to advance everywhere, in ideological, political, and practical campaign with respect to advancing the whole cause of political action. First, we have to take a look at a certain amount of dis-illusionment which has grown up in the labor movement and among the Negro people over the last 86th Congress Comrades will take note of the fact that ROY WILKINS who is the head of the NAACP speaking in the 50th Anniversary of the NAACP Convention, here in New York before some 35,000 people indicated that because the last Congress did not pass the meaningful civil rights legislation but scuttled it, then its time for the Negro people to think of going back to the Republican Party. We also have heard voices in New York from no less a labor leaders than HOLLANDER(ph) and I'm sure from other labor leaders throughout the country to the effect that if they can't get what they want from the Democratic Party than they have to think again about the Republican Party. Well, this is a problem that we have to find some sort of approach to.

First, I think that we must understand that it comes from a great deal of dis-illusionment over this terrific betrayal by Congress in respect to the LANDRUM GRIFFIN (ph) Bill and civil rights, and then we should be shuttling, modestly, proposal tentatives, and to point out that it is no help to the Negro people to the labor movement, to the course of progress to



become a blind tail to a Republican Party \_\_\_\_\_ in more than it would be with respect to the Democratic Party. Now, one other question in this connection, what you say as it is being said sometimes or asked, that because of the betrayal of the labor and the Negro forces labor rights and civil rights, in the last Congress, that it was incorrect or wrong for the labor movement to go all out in defeating the right to work laws and in throwing their weight to the Democratic Party at that time. My opinion is that it was not wrong, but this was a victory, but that it was not wrong, that this was a victory, but that it was not followed up. In the first place, I think, that there were at least four things that were missing which made it easy for this betrayal to take place. One is that the labor movement itself did not come through with a powerful extra legislative mass campaign against anti-labor legislation and for necessary civil rights legislation, and social legislation. No such mass legislation, say, that took place by the Negro people or the youth marches the pilgrimage, and the sort of militant initiative which the Negro people take in legislative and official matters. A second thing which I think contributed to the ability of this Congress to caricature that betrayal is that the labor movement has not elected and concentrated on trade union candidates, which is something that has to be added in the election picture of 1960.

A third thing which I think was one of the factors there is that the labor movement has not planned sufficiently an independent role within the Democratic Party participating in the..... movements of the Democratic Party which are calculated to displace and defeat machines as say took place in and around New York the Roosevelt and Lehman initiatives against the DE Sapio machine. I think that this has been a weakness of the labor movement.

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Furtherly, I think that the labor movement was considerably troubled and throttled by the fact that its leadership has supported the main the cold war policies which have been pursued by the Congressmen and the administration and by big business instead of following a policy of peace and disarmament. This latter thing is going to require --- but there is no question of the fact that the main leadership of the labor movement is supporting the cold war policies makes it very difficult for the labor movement to carry on the necessary independent political activities on the electoral front. Now the advancement of independent political action essentially is one of seeking a political realignment in the country. And the core of this conference is to break the Dixiecrat-Republican alliance, to attack this alliance to attack this alliance from any and all sides, both inside the Senate and Congress, and outside, such as "Room (ph) 22" and seniority which keeps these damnable Dixiecrats in charge of all major committees in the Senate the slogan of driving the Dixiecrats out of the Democratic Party is the slogan which is even more favorable for waging a mass campaign among the people and the independ/voters making this issue also an issue in every contest in the north with respect to Democratic and Republican candidates, and thus adding the decisive power in the north with respect to helping the south or right to vote movement and the limited progressive and Democratic forces in the south to break the strangle hold of the Dixiecrats. And this means in particular, in the east, Comrades, in the midwest and in the far west, in breaking this coalition up before the various candidates.

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Now this alliance, Comrades, between the Dixiecrats and the Republicans is the main instrument of political power of the big monopolies in the country in using that power in Congress, and to break the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition would be objectively a powerful blow against the legislative and the political power of big monopolies in America today. Also to break this alliance would hasten and facilitate the independent political action of the labor, greatly threatening its capacity to play a greater role in this respect.

Also comrades, to break this alliance is a (fight) for the completion of the bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the south. A fight which (takes place all the ---) Now the main (key to bring here, comrades, is the fight for the (enfranchisements??) of the Negroes in the first place in the deep south, as well as tens of thousand of poor whites. And that we see (symbolized) to some extent in the right to vote movement in the deep south. Another thing which we can use to good advantage is the proposal of the federal civil rights commission to supervise, for the federal government to supervise all federal elections in the deep southern states. Now comrades that's a major thing. Demagogues (ph) or not demogagia (ph), the fight, in my judgement, should be that we seek to organize the (broadest?) mass front of the people in order to see that this specific proposal of the federal civil rights commission is implemented. (At least I think) that we should have our sights upon some sort of mass actions of a broad character directed to the very first days of congress which will take place in 1960 around this question of the federal civil right commission proposal. Now a couple of relatively new issues in connection with this dixiecrat (republican)

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coalition.

One; the 14th Amendment. Now comrades it's time to raise and raise sharply the whole question of that section of the 14th amendment which says that the representation of the southern states should be reduced in proportion to qualified voters who are denied the right to vote in the deep south. Now it's about time, this in our judgement, is made into a big popular issue. Another possible issue, in our judgement, requires some examination and study is the 8th amendment to the constitution (in) the Bill of Rights and that is the one that says that every state in the union is (guaranteed) a republican form of government. So it does prove to any reasonable people that you (had) a republican form of government in the state of Mississippi where you got 51% of the population Negro, and with no representation whatsoever. Well these are just a couple of the new and sharper issues that have great potentialities among broad masses of the people. Then comrades we should also, in connection with independent political action, support the initiatives of the Negro people with respect to both parties conventions. And as I have said, to find skillful ways of utilizing this statement of MEANY and by other labor leaders, on the common enemy (approach) that the dixiecrats are, with respect to the Negro people, and the labor movement. Now (furtherly) on this question comrades.

It seems to me that we have a task to do everything possible to bring about the elections of labor candidates in this 1960 election. Trade unionists, and there are many voices in the trade union movement

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which arewasting, are being wasted in this ---. I know here in NY, it was just in the paper recently that Trade Union leader (VAN ARSDALE (ph)) already said that he thought it was about time that the labor movement organized to put Trade Unionists in the Democratic party primary, this coming April in NY. I's sure that similar sentiments exist in other states. Then I think that we should give a great deal of attention on the question of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican American candidates. And here I think comrades, it is time to (raise the ante) with respect to Negro candidates. Not lon Negroes to state offices, state assembly, state senate and negroes to congress, but it is time to raise questions of a Negro going to the United States Senate. And this to me is a aim high, yet a realistic proposal towards which something can be worked out. We have (weighed) the possibilities of it in NY, of such campaign and I think in other states where you have large Negro populations, this question ought to be raised at some sort of a perspective. And also with respect to the possibilities of raising the question, ideologically, and in (a campaign) way of Negro's being elected, not alone from Negro districts, but also from white areas of the population. The whites have been for a long time representing Negroes, well there's a very good sentiment among my --- of the workers in the white masses of our country to listen to this type of placing the question. And extend the whole frontier and (depth) of the struggle for Negro equality in this country. Then I think we should try to find ways to (which) the labor movement, in an organized way, dan step up its participation in an independent way in the democratic party as such. Then we should give consideration to new (forms) such as have been developed (quite realistically) among the Negro people in Chicago and in other places. Now

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comrades (a crucial need) for a 3rd party. I think that this is one of the major tasks which we have. And that the (conditions) the sentiments, the subjective possibilities for it are growing. I think that we (ought) to avoid premature -- parties as you saw in NY with the ISP, and where the estimate of our party in NY, proved to be completely correct on this. But at the same time not leaving any --- in the electoral field for the (Trotskyites) and other elements to move into in order to spread their disruption and splitting many intellectuals, professional and middle sections of the population, that want to, that can, that (are) (principled) and desire to play a role in bringing about independent political action.

Now Comrades, also, more than a dozen unions in the country are actively writing about, or speaking about the necessity for Third Party in America. We should get into this debate and spread this kind of discussion everywhere. The Comrades should be interested in knowing that in New York City in our huge Labor Day Parade of some 125,000 workers that the TWU (Transport Workers Union) had their whole contingent march under a sign of a (term) for a Third Peoples Labor Party here in our country. I think we have to build --- and other labor forms of political action. And try to the best of our abilities to help develop on a grand trunks (ph) level Comrades a concrete alternative that will provide---- of expression for people, for peace candidates for pro-labor candidates, --- candidates that will give the People some way to vote and express themselves, which is denied to them by the two major party machines.

Now Comrades, in the strategic goals certainly

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I would put in, in respect to the building of a Third Party such a Party certainly has to be realistically based on the Labor Movement and the Negro people and their sections of the people. If we say these forces are principally around the Democratic Party, it is not because we do not recognize that the Democratic Party is the party of big business, just like the Republican Party, but wait a minute Comrades, the fact that this is where is found the great bulk of the Labor Movement, the Negro people of the popular independent voices in the country, and there's just no use talking about labor party or third party unless we learn the skillful and the basically important lesson of working with these forces. This becomes the basic reason why we must work among these forces in our electoral perspective.

Now finally on the Party's role Comrades, I think we have to build the influence and strength of our Party and the press in the campaign. This can only be done on the basis of a broad mass line, united front methods of work even though we realize that our Party is no position at the present time that I know to establish any kind of official or unofficial united fronts as an organization. But we have to develop the kind of broad line that is calculation to influence the voters, independent thinkers, even people who are hostile to our Party do not agree with our Party or our Party's program. We have to find a broad line around basic issues to influence these forces as well as those forces that are closer to us. This comrades is the overriding issue in this election campaign and I think Comrade GUS put it into an interwoven way with all issues which

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is essentially sound, but we have to place this, in my judgement, in such a way that it doesn't look as though we are saying, the hell with everything else. It's important, but you know, the hell with everything else what I think, Comrades, we must avoid what took place in a previous period of our Party, and, that was during World War II when the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the leading Negro papers came out with the "Double D" campaign, victory abroad against socialism, and victory against JIM CROW at home, and we just sort of shunted that aside as wrong I think, Comrades, we have to have some sort of approach, and I don't propose this as a slogan of our Party fighting for peace and social progress in our country, or to put it another way, in the cold war in the big business or monopoly or --- labor and the people here in the country. It is possible to stress the question of peace in a single one sided way so that we give the impression that we support the Republican Party because it is the initiative under EISENHOWER on the question of peace. We, also, on the other hand cannot give the impression that we are adhering to the Democratic Party's (pact) and that we are in somebody else's (bag). We have to base our criticism concretely on issues and where you have a boss like STEVENSON, who has expressed the best possible position of any of the Democratic candidates that aren't running, I would say that we would also have to be damned "sharp" on this new step of STEVENSON's with respect to supporting anti-strike and anti-labor legislation. In other words, we have to play the role of independent criticism wherever the final needs of the people are concerned irrespective of who is a particular candidate or what the particular Party is. Now finally, Comrades,



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I think that our Party also will have to give a lot of attention to the question of socialism, noting that the 1960 election will be taking place in a world where more and more people and workers are becoming conscious of the achievements of socialism, and of the superiority of socialism in the technical ways in which they can already recognize whether --- or sputniks, there superior educational system, their statesmanship, their role for peace, irrespective of the fact they do not agree with Communism or may not agree with KRUSHCHEV, KHRUSCHEV's political views. My opinion is that our Party must pay special attention to the whole question of socialism and examine how we can more popularly --- and equally --- -- our Party as a Party of Socialism here in America. I think, also, that we have to raise, very sharply the Negro question, to a new level. Find means and ways through our propaganda and our election tactics and politics that we can begin to shift, shift the center of gravity in the whole struggle of Negro rights in this country to the white workers, to the white popular forces and bring us some millions of new allies to the Negro people, in the course of this election. And also comrades, I'm of the opinion that our Party has to get a certain fighting strength, fighting edge for the immediate needs of the people. I wonder if we haven't forbidden the way to relief bureaus, I wonder if we haven't forbidden some of the most urgent and burning questions that workers face today, their suffering, their health problems, their --- problems, their housing problems, so that sometimes we feel we can't do nothing until we organize a thousand people around it. When our party has to move in to .. situations wherever there is human suffering among the working class and get a new initiative,

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around this, while at the same time seeking to do what is possible today and that is to organize the various types of action by the people and to encourage those movements which are liked.

On candidates Comrades, I think, our Party is on a systematic search for ways and means of running candidates in this election. Now, not just a rash of candidates, because it just isn't possible everywhere. I think we have to examine past situations, relations --- ---, our relations with friends and allies and see where it is that our Party can actually run candidates in the elections. Usually when we put it this way, Comrades feel that after they examine the situation concretely they always end up with a certain amount of Party candidates. The election campaign of BROWN in California and DAVIS in Harlem has settled some questions, comrades.

I think that ~~this~~ should be carefully examined, calmly selected, people like ARCHIE BROWN were not born that way but --- --- --- contacts with the labor movement and working classes as such. In my judgment comrades we have to begin doing that realizing of course that all our workers --- running candidates in public roles because we have a very fine role to play in mass movement by people who cannot be identified for their political affiliations.

If we give a lot of attention along the lines of this report it will be possible for us to become a very big factor and make a real contribution to the working class and to the people of our country in the forth coming election.

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MEYERS: Comrades, you have just heard the report of COMRADE BEN DAVIS. On procedure I would propose a motion to adopt the report. Is there a second? All right, proceed with the discussion. Proposal for a five minute break, let's make it 2 then we'll be back in 5 or 10 minutes. The first speaker when we resume will be Comrade CARL WINTER of Michigan followed by AL RICHMOND of Northern California.

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CARL WINTER: I think that it is clear to all of us that we are trying to develop an orientation and a set of tactics to assure the most effective possible advancement of that which we have proposed in the resolution as a whole as the major task before the American people for the present period and that is to advance the unity of the American people, for the (conclusion?) of a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of part of our country. Now this is no small undertaking and as the Party of the American working class, we have more than the job of announcing a desirable end results, we have the job of facing up to what are the obstacles in the way of achievement which we have to help remove. Unless we approach this question of how to transform the foreign policy of our nation from one of cold and aggressive blustering to a policy of peace and disarmament leading to deliberate work for peaceful coexistence.

The (wrong?) conclusion might easily be drawn that the newspaper headlines are already guaranteeing the achievement of some of these aims. After all President EISENHOWER is abroad proclaiming America's desire for world peace, and before he undertook this trip, in fact, influencing him to invite Premier KHRUSHCHEV to this country to discuss the easing of international tensions, important spokesmen from the ranks of big capital in this country indicated that it was necessary to bring an end to the continued expansion of armament and the growing military budget and to recognize the new relation of forces in the world making unavoidable the search for some kind of coexistence. Now if we simply rest on these developments and expect an election campaign to contribute to the fulfillment of these aims by simply declaring ourselves for peace and peace candidates, I think that we will contribute very little. The facts are extremely complicated in the

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political picture in our country. The Republican Party holds office in the Federal Government and is regarded by the bulk of the labor movement as its arch enemy but at the same time it appears to be that (she protests?) of the easing of international tensions. At the same time the Democratic Party which has enjoyed for some time for a number of years, the support of the bulk of organized labor, has produced O-- any leading spokesman for world peace but other than that has turned its back upon its labor supporters in the passings of the most vicious anti-labor legislation in the last session of congress and is --- in a betrayal of the demands of the Negro people for civil rights legislation. Now some very easy answers might be forthcoming on that score that is to denounce them both equally and declare that all we need is a (central?) party. That is almost the truth in all of these easy solutions, but it is the task of our Party to help overcome these complex problems and to deal with contradictions as they actually present themselves. It is our task in the first place not to be content to talk about the need for peace and peaceful coexistence but to face the real situation of the bulk of labor having worked with and through the Democratic Party and as far as can be foreseen in the near future can continuing to work there and demonstrate how a program can be advanced within those channels to which in the main labor is still working, both for peace and the overcoming of the attacks upon organized labor which the leadership of the Democratic Party in the eyes of the labor movement holds major responsibility for.

Now I was struck by remarks by one comrade early in the discussion, I. think yesterday, who hailed the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union in expanding production to the extent, as he put it, Soviet

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industry is able to produce tractors, I think he said, or was it lathes - yes at half of the cost of American factories. Well, that is a very encouraging observation to be sure, but it would hardly be encouraging to the workers in the American lathe producing factories to give support to friendship with the Soviet Union or even the expansion of trade with the Soviet Union if we pose things in this fashion. It's necessary to start with where we are and always to remember who we are and most important of all whom it is we are trying to move from a (inadequate?) position today to a more advanced position tomorrow. And therefore, the way to talk about the need for peace and peaceful coexistence to workers who are still in the Democratic Party whose leaders are not distinguishing themselves at all on this score, is to point out the (commission?) between the defense of organized labor and the living standards of the American people and the guaranteeing of peaceful world relations. Similarly, with respect to the Negro Peoples movement, it's necessary to demonstrate that there is an intimate connection between the fight for civil rights and the fight for peace, otherwise, we could very easily either be coming into the wind in our continued distinction between Democrats as so called labor progressive forces and Republicans as the forces of big business and fail completely to move either the Negro Peoples movement or the trade union movement to a recognition of how to unite the strivings for their immediate daily needs and the need for advancement of world peace.

When we talk about independent political action, therefore, I think we have to start with the organization of grass roots movements among the Negro people and among the trade unionists on their daily immediate demands, and if Communists working with them for the advancement of those daily immediate demands, show in daily life and

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experience the connection between the advancement of their own organizational strength in the political front with the capacity to change the foreign policy of our government and the (programatic?) stand of candidates of major parties to which the American people are still looking for guidance national political affairs. (Applause)

Chairman: Comrade AL RICHMOND followed by Comrade CHASE of New England.

RICHMOND: Comrades, hearing Comrade DAVIS' reference to GEORGE MEANY's speech at the Urban League and also knowing the same reference in the resolution, I was struck anew by what impressed me as an omission in the labor resolution. If you would bear with me, I would like to retroactively comment on this fact. Now you have got a situation where the official (physician?) of the American labor movement expressed on several occasions this, and this is their language not mine, that there is sort of a big business conspiracy to destroy or weaken the labor movement. Now I don't know why we couldn't have quoted this as an amendment associated ourselves with this estimate and put ourselves on a basis of a common front with organized labor as an entity in our country and not proceed to discuss why does this conspiracy exist and used our Marxist-Leninist wisdom to analyze them and in the course of that I am sure we would be critical of some things that this labor leadership has done and not offer a program of how to defeat this conspiracy. Well, much of this in in the resolution but the point I am making to establish at the outset a sort of common identification with organized labor as correct estimate. That is that conspiracy exists to destroy them. Now as to this resolution, well, you know

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when the NEC letter was published, I was very much heartened. I thought it marked a great advance over the draft resolution - oftenly recognized as such. However, this letter indicates that we are in a new world situation and, you know, it takes time to adjust to all the implications, all the factors of a rapidly changing world situation. I don't think that we have done it as yet. We are still lagging somewhat behind the --- developments.

I think that Comrade GUS' talk was still another advance particularly in the emphasis that he placed on tactical questions and certainly when a big chance takes place the problem of tactics becomes all the more complex. Now here in this resolution paragraph four we note that in both major parties there are strong currents against the (trek?) for peace. The (ROCKEFELLER) current in the Republican Party, the ACHESON-TRUMAN --- in the Democratic Party. I think that there is something new happening in the Democratic Party also. This true and this is old. I think that to a greater degree at least since the end of the war or since the break of the Wallace forces with the Democratic Party in 1947, 1948. Do you have a developing peace expression within the Democratic Party? and I don't only refer to STEVENSON with all of the inconsistencies of his position but (other?) Democratic organizations throughout the country. Now, it is bound to have an impact on this new situation - the KHRUSCHEV trip and the Republican position. I think that it ought to be noted there because this exists and this is what we want to give to encouragement to and this is part of our problem in the complex situation that Comrade WINTER referred to. I think we also got to find some way of placing the fact that NIXON-EISENHOWER ((wing?))



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of the Republican Party is using the peace issue in the way that it is and if it succeeds it will also win, the election. Now I think that it is an objective fact it is one of the biggest political facts of 1960. How can you approach an estimate of 1960 without recognizing what is the greatest political factor everybody in the country and the world recognizes. I think that we ought to be skillful on where we place it; so it don't sound like a NIXON endorsement because I am not for endorsing NIXON. But I certainly think that we've got to cope with it because it exists in life. And there are certain elements in that that are not altogether negative either, because one of your most powerful arguments now for bringing a certain shift in the line of the Democratic Party is the very persuasive argument that they will (get licked?) if they pursue the KENNEDY-SYMMINGTON, etc. line and certain (essentials?) of the labor movement I think can be swung even on a - - - basis into a recognition of the realities of politics but we ought to press for peace. As CARL said not as an abstract thing but in terms of the forces that actually exist and see that this new world situation is having not only an impact upon us but upon every political force in American life. And if we recognize this we can find the ways of taking the fullest tactical advantages to advance the fight for peace and in the course even solve the biggest problem of bringing a certain realignment within the labor movement on this vital issue of our time. (applause)

Chairman: Comrade CHASE of New England followed by Comrade JOHNSON, New York.

HOMER CHASE: Comrades, we of New England were somewhat concerned about the way the issue of peace was posed in

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the original draft resolution. We warmly welcomed the NEC letter as an earnest attempt to improve that situation. and we are greatly encouraged more than that by Comrade HALL's speech. We feel that it is a clarion call for peace which is exactly what our Party needs and which is going to change the whole situation both inside the Party and as far as the Party's relationship with the non-party masses is concerned. The - - - problem of fighting for peace and disarmament in this it seems that very few comrades recognize it in the discussion is that we have to achieve peaceful coexistence, we have to fight for total disarmament in a country which in all probability will be controlled by a government which in turn is either controlled by monopoly or is certainly heavily represented in our - in the government where the monopolies they heavily represented. That is our problem. We are looking forward in the next three or four years until our convention of assuring the peaceful coexistence will work. Three or four years from now it will be greatly advanced beyond on today. That is the kind of a program we must (head up?). That is the kind of a prospective and we must face up to the fact. And we must welcome the fact that there is a - - - between representatives of monopoly in this country we should be concerned about not facing - - -. Because what are the facts. The facts are that the monopolist and nobody has any doubts but what our capitalism is in the monopoly - the imperialist stage but the - - - have divided monopoly in the United States. These forces of deceit - - - even as we look for tactics. And they have divided over the question of tactics, and that is a very important factor for us to consider. Surely, it is to our advantage and the advantage of the working class in our country, to

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take advantage of this division and to move the labor movement forward, the Negro people in this struggle for peace. And it will have to be done to a large extent around the question of how they stand on peaceful coexistence. I would just like to mention election in Holyoke, Mass., where one of the candidates sent a telegram to the Russian Embassy - come to Holyoke - they want KHRUSHCHEV to come to Holyoke and see how two Russian born boys have prospered in America. - - - the opposition candidate for mayor sent a telegram to keep KHRUSHCHEV out of here. Well, the result of the election to be very brief was that the candidate - - - to invite KHRUSHCHEV swamped the other guy two to one. Now it is very possible under that situation the incumbent?) was more allied - more closely allied, in fact I know he was, with Monopoly in New England than was his opponent. But because of this (revision?) which - - - capitalist class on the strength of Socialism in the development of the liberation movement. - - - it was correct for us to support the candidate who stood for peace to that limited extent. Now I think that on the question of elections. - I think that on the elections the main problem we have to face up to is that the party which is tied in with labor and the Negro - I mean which labor Negro people have supported for many years is also led by some of the main supporters of the cold war and that is the main supporters of the cold war and that is the major of our election problems - stated very briefly. And, the Democratic Party is degenerated - on the last year and a half on the question of civil rights, on the question of labor legislation, and on many other questions but they don't even make a pretense of representing the people. And I think that this document certainly doesn't pay enough attention to what is a main (thing). I think that in Comrade DAVIS' remarks paid more attention

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to it. And that is to develop and explain and give leadership to the contribution between the peace desires of the rank and file of the Democratic Party and the labor movement who support the Democratic Party, and the cold war position of the leadership - that stated in a nut shell - why hiding ROCKEFELLER and exposing him at the same time. I suppose that is it. A very short seven minutes. (applause)

Chairman: Comrade JOHNSON - of Ohio.

JOHNSON: Comrades, I was going to take this particular opportunity to pose one of the problems that I think a number of us are facing and we ought to look at it. I have here from the miscellaneous resolutions committee a very important resolution on Mexican-Americans. I want to make sure that Comrade (SOL?) of Southern California knows that it is going to be presented tonight. He is present it. There are several other resolutions but I think that this is going to be a problem in the course of it, so I trust it will find a way of really solving these problems so that we don't find ourselves at the end with lots of speeches and not taking some action upon important resolutions that everybody feels is important in this election.

Chairman: Where is the resolution?

(ARNOLD) JOHNSON: We'll get it in. I'm just maneuvering it right now. I have to talk a little on the subject here. I was pleased with the remarks of Comrade AL RICHMOND and there is some point in the history of the drafting of the resolution that I think is perhaps necessary - just in a word or two. First a draft was made that pretty

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closely in line with some of the remarks that Comrade RICHMOND made. Then we were told in a fashion, you know, out and out, some of this is going to be handled in the peace question - the peace section so make that changes a little but and don't make it all repetitious. I had a feeling that it was necessary and I still think it is true that when resolutions are presented in a convention like this no matter on which particular subject, when they are major resolutions they should be all encompassing to a degree. Then the drafting of a resolution which becomes a total draft resolution at the convention is an editorial account to be done after the convention. Instead of trying to edit as you go along so that people may not see the connection of one resolution to another resolution or to a part of a resolution. That is quite a problem. But it is good that it occurs this way in order to clear up an issue and to give a certain kind of an analysis. Comrade WINTER made the point that we have to see where we are and where we are going. This is very true in the development of all tactics. It is also necessary to see that which is new or that which is ---. And not to guide ourselves in order to be (with that?) as it is growing, and to aid it to grow. And this is, I think, one of the features is necessary for us and for the labor movement and the American people as a whole is to see this tremendous significance of the 1960 elections. - - - in the past that we often speak about this as the greatest and most important election and so forth, you know, until that story sort of wears off. But there is one thing that is very different here and still often in the past we have spoken about the importance of elections or a particular event in relation to the struggle for against the danger of war, the struggle against the danger of rising fascism. All on the basis of the struggle against

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a certain feature, Now that means new and current features as well, but it is also true that in this current picture there is - that which is new is the hope and the desires of people for peace. That is quite a different approach - - - and requires in our thinking and in the development of our tactics how to turn this election period into a crusade for peace. ... not alone or separated from but - - - of the point that BEN was making and made well. - how to in this sense create new kinds of movements so that people see that the objectives are possible - not that the objectives are impossible if for instance a Congress was elected which had the clear cut desire to have the end of the cold war, peaceful coexistence and total disarmament, and supposing (had) total disarmament - may be they want to make it five years, it would be all right with me. But such an approach makes entirely different (shift?) but to do that, for us, not order to make speeches about it. Practically in order to do that in Congress that means you have to do it between now and the primaries - - -. 90% of Congressmen are elected in the primaries. - - - 10% break through and make changes otherwise in November, 90% happen in the primaries. That is why the primaries are important. When you talk about primaries that way that means that it is necessary also the way you discuss that which is new as for as all these mass movements and developments are concerned you also have to discuss it from the view point that the timing of things, and if we grasp this present situation - - - that means we don't have many days in order to do a very - - - job that doesn't limit the job just to the primaries - - - - - Stop at that question. Post the next question - - - on the same field - still with BEN's report in part. From here to the beginning of Congress - - - crusade for civil rights.

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Bear in mind that the Senate promised civil rights is going to be the first point on the agenda. That means that the first point on the agenda we must not make the mistake that was made last year. We must know it was a mistake. The mistake of last year was at the beginning of Congress the Civil Liberties people were fighting on civil liberties. The trade union people were fighting on labor problems. The Negro people were almost forced to fight on the civil rights issue almost by themselves; and these forces are fighting on these programs almost all by themselves. The result was - - - was put through for four years, one voice was raised against the Un-American Committee, and in the McClellan Committee - - - came the Landrum-Griffin Bill, and so forth. Those are factors of it. They're (factors?) subjectively from our side, too. - - - Dixiecrat Republicans - - coalition - - - is the unity of the people - - -. And I submit the one issue that can smash - - lines - - - create a new political alignment in the next Congress is the Civil Rights issue - - -.

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Chairman: The (motion is) to adopt the report of the election committee. Any further questions? -  
- - - Those in favor signify by raising your cards.  
Those opposed? Adopted unanimously! Comrades, BEN DAVIS says that - - - -. Comrades - prepared report on question?

UnMale: Comrades you've received the farm resolution. We tried to keep it brief and it is one of the briefest resolutions we've had. Now, one more; (Comrades - This (report) is a brief resolution, so lets listen to it. ) Many things in the farm resolution (can) be expanded upon and added to, however we tried to cover (merely) the most essential elements. Now the attack on the labor movement has almost an exact counterpart in a new offensive against a - of small farmers -- in a more aggressive way. Now the attack against - of small farmers has been giving on for a long time. In 1945 the chamber of commerce published a report in which they advocated very bluntly the elimination of -- small farmers. Now their program is well on the way to being carried out. Now 1½ million farmers have been eliminated since 1945. However this fall, the Wall Street Journal even pinpointed the fact that the administration, the Secretary of Agriculture BENSON, was preparing a (conservative) campaign to wipe out the price support program and to rally consumer support against the farm program. And since then we've seen a whole series of propaganda articles in major newspapers around the country and in magazines, and other (sources) of propaganda. Now the farmers have a very difficult problem in terms of getting support in this battle. And in this respect our party has been (asleep) for a long time. We must bear in mind too, that the farmers have been a pretty important factor in (some) labor struggles recently. (And) the fight against right



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to work laws in 1958, in a number of states, it was the farmers who lined up with labor, who were (decisive) in defeating right to work laws. We had a report from Ohio, after the 58 struggle there ( in which) they from Ohio, admitted that major efforts in the rural areas had broken down much of the farm antagonism towards labor and played an important role. In the states of Washington, Idaho and Colorado, undoubtedly the farmers were very decisive. In Montana they were even decisive to the point where they were unable to put right to work on the ballot at all. So that we have a situation where farmers (have been) giving substantial help to labor and (getting) very little in return. Now for a long time, we have placed the question of allies for labor in the struggle for social progress, achievement of socialism. We placed the question as labor and the Negro people and I want to go into this to some extent. Now frankly comrades this is a departure from the way this question is placed, to my knowledge, anywhere else in the world. The usual method of placing it is a (labor-farmer) or Labor peasant( (alliance). Now there are distinct differences in the United States. I'm not (implicating) being dogmatic about it, but I think we must recognize that generally in raising the question - of allies for the working class, we think in terms of (class) allies, and in this sense, the farmers are the main non-working class, classed, with which labor can build and must build an alliance. Now this is not a question of downgrading the alliance of labor and Negro people. But the farmers are very anxious to be included in this to (get) consideration so that the thing be (placed) as a labor-farm-Negro alliance. And for many years, amongst farmers, this question was constantly raised and discussed again and again. How about this? Everywhere else in the world they speak of a labor-peasant

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alliance, a labor farm alliance, and get our party here is not ... this way.. Both labor and the Negro people are thereby rejecting one of the most important allies they have potentially, in order to defeat the reactionary offensive. Only by these three basic groups understanding each other problems and giving support to the programs of each other can they defeat the reactionary offensive against all of them. Now, also in our Marxist experience it is up to labor to assume the initiative in building this alliance. It's not up to the farmers and - very remiss on this. Our congress in the trade union field and our congress general party leadership do not play the role of initiative in building a labor-farm alliance. Even result in such a weird idea in some places that the farmers should lead the working class where there are more farmers in a state than there are industrial workers. Now - in regard to the question of paying attention to farm problems. Comrades most district organizers leading people in the party on the national committee and district leaderships and so on, at least I think most of them get a number of labor papers, - that is the press of the trade union movement. They also get the press of the Negro peoples movement, at least a number of cases; they have to in order to understand what is going on being oriented. But I like a show of hands here of how many comrades get anything on the question of farmers - farm papers or any facts or material on farmers. How many get it? Well, there are a few but it is really very few. How can our party leadership ever build this alliance if they don't even know what is going on among farmers, in fact, in talking to city comrades on this question, their mis-information and the lack of understanding is very discouraging to say the least. In fact we have many comrades in the party who have fallen for the monopoly propaganda line that farmers and the price support program is the cause of high food prices.

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Now I don't have time to go into the facts and figures that prove how wrong this is, the resolution spells out briefly that labor is blamed for inflation in the rural areas, and in the city areas farmers are blamed for high prices and this is intended to divide the two - keep them from forming an alliance and supporting each other and both of these propaganda lines are patently fake. Now also while reaction tells labor and the city consumer that farmers and their legislative program are the cause of high food prices, in the farm areas because the farmers know -- you know what they tell the farmer, they tell the farmers that the reason food prices are going up is on account of labor. Labor is getting too much of the packing plants and the food processing industries and otherwise. In regard to the resolution itself, first "sub-critically" we realize that when comrade CAAUDE spoke today, there should be a change in the - of page one under item seven, in regard to problems of southern agriculture, some of these problems are dealt with it should read "are dealt with in the resolution on an equal footing". The resolution also places the importance of organizing the farm workers as an aid to small farmers and their survival because as long as small farmers must compete with terribly impoverished and exploited farm labor that makes maybe \$800.00 or \$1,000.00 income a year, the standard of living of the small farmer will tend to be "drug" down to this level. We were very fortunate here to have a farm worker who is in the thick of the organized struggle, a farm workers report to our convention and it is a fact that approximately two million farm laborers in this country are the widest group of working class in a single industry - the farm industry - that are unorganized and without question they have the most highly exploited, underpaid, impoverished, group in America, and include a majority of minority people.

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Now finally I want to say that our resolution committee has representation from perhaps six or seven states, that could have been better, but then .....

We've seen of course too, that most importantly we've been having these kind of resolutions for many years now in the party about our organizations doing something in terms of setting up farm information, giving more attention to the study of farm work and its part time that we did something about it in face of the new reactionary offensive that's shaping up and in regard to this I want to dwell briefly on the question of the dixie crats, because there the liberal congressman from the mid-west and far west states have been compromised. It's time they have permitted themselves to be compromised but in order to get support for farm legislation that their farm constituents wanted back in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Montana, etc., they traded with the dixiecrats because they did not get the support from city congressmen, and as a result they traded away an honest position on civil rights and other things to the detriment of the Negro People. Thank you.

Chair: Comrades you've heard the report on the farm question . . . Been seconded the chair recommends that we vote on this motion now with the same flexibility open for question later on. Is there any question? Hearing none, all in favor signify by raising cards. Opposed: So ordered. Is the Credentials Committee ready to report? "Answer from the floor "Yeah".

Chair: Don't worry it's the last one. Motion to adopt is in order.

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Unmale: Comrades in behalf of the Credentials Committee

I want to submit the following report: But first I would like to say the following. There may be certain inaccuracies in the report and are some inaccuracies and they stem from the fact that first we had a small committee and a big job too and then some of the answers to the questions here was not properly or completely filled out but I think by and large we'll get the practice of the trend in the delegation here. As of this afternoon and since then we have some additional figures which I will give after I'm through, but since this afternoon we have the following picture: A total attendance at this convention of 187 people. Now I say there are additional figures which I will give at the end. The 187 are broken down into the following categories: 131 regular delegates, 25 alternates, 15 fraternal delegates, 16 visitors. To this figure if you want we can add a total of 41 additional people broken down in the following - this is from this afternoon and this evening, two additional delegates, two alternates, five fraternal delegates, and thirty two visitors. Now an analysis of the 1st batch of figures, not the last, the delegates and alternates represented at this convention come from 16 states and districts. They include the following: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New England, Michigan, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, State of Washington, Oregon, California, Texas, Alabama, Did I leave out Minnesota? There's a good delegation from Minnesota. O.K. Now a partial break-down of delegates and alternates include the following and Fraternal and visitors are not included. Composition: 112 male, 39 female; of the delegates and alternates 33 are Negro comrades; on age category: under 25: 1 delegate; 25 to 35: 29; 35 to 40: 22;

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40 to 50, 48; 50 to 60, 44; over 60, 8. In the grouping of over 40, it shows 2/3 of delegates and alternates fall under that category, is a reflection on the age-level of the party. Length of time in the Party: under 10 years: 11; 10-15 years, 24; 15-20, 24; 20-30, 68; over 30 years 12. Charter members 5. I should make one added comment at this category. I think we realize we're not drawing younger people and that's fact but we should note that because of the efforts of invite fraternal delegates if we include fraternal delegates, most of whom are younger comrades, whose presence we appreciate and feel will be helpful to the party as a whole, the figures would show only a slight improvement. Now on occupations: I'd like to read all the industries represented but I will give some basic figures like industrial workers: 43 are industrial workers, white collar workers 40; housewives 9; now two comrades have listed themselves as farm housewives, comrades who are on the farm. Professionals five; self employed, four; farm, 2; students, 3; and of the comrades who are industrial and the white collar 40 delegates and alternates are members of trade unions. I'm not going to call out what names, it's not necessary. Of the delegation, 28 comrades are full-time party workers. I think by and large these are the most essential facts. I hope comrades in behalf of the credentials committee for the adoption of this report.

Chair: You have heard the motion. Is it seconded? Question?  
All in favor by saying Aye - opposed. So ordered.  
Comrade ROSSI (?) has an announcement.

Unmale: The national groups committee will meet tomorrow  
Saturday immediately after the adjournment of the  
morning session. We will send out for coffee and

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sandwiches and meet during the lunch hour. All delegations are supposed to send a representative. --- who are fraternal delegates are invited to participate ....

Chair: Comrade STACHEL.

STACHEL: Just a couple of reminders. Don't forget the guiding committee plus the comrades from the districts will meet on the question of the elections and proceedings at tomorrow morning at 8:00 a.m. here...Haven't sacrifice. The other is all delegates please be here on time at 10:00 o'clock so we can move.